THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Vertical Envelopment

At last the military theorists and the all-out air-power enthusiasts have been given an opportunity to show how effective "vertical envelopment" can be when tried on a grand scale and under perfect conditions. The most striking result of the test has been its lack of conclusiveness. The parachuting of troops behind enemy lines was developed in Russian maneuvers before the war—but its originators have shied away from its use in actual combat. After a small rehearsal in the Low Countries, the Germans first put a large sky force in action at Crete in 1941, and won—but at a cost so great that they have never repeated the technique. The United Nations experimented with it for two years, from North Africa to Provence, before they felt confident enough to throw in an entire air-borne army.

Conditions were perfect in Holland. Paratroopers and glider-borne soldiers would land among people eager to receive and to aid them. Allied air forces ruled the skies: they cut down enemy air power and largely paralyzed anti-aircraft defenses. The prize was immense: a chance to turn the Siegfried Line where it begins to peter out near Cleve and Wesel, east of Arnhem. (Although some defensive positions extend to the mouth of the Ems, they lack natural strength.) The German Fifteenth Army, routed from its posts along the Channel, had not had time to occupy its assigned positions in the line. The British Second Army, in pursuit, was outrunning its supply lines. General Eisenhower decided to throw in the Allied First Air-Borne Army, comprising American and British divisions and smaller Polish and Dutch units.

The Germans Buy Time

The landings were achieved without disproportionate losses, which was a victory in itself, and many preliminary objectives were seized. But the Germans reacted promptly, vigorously and expertly. (Not all their good generals have been liquidated.) They concentrated on the British "airhead" at Arnhem, which was the closest to the Reich border and focal point of the greatest threat. Days and nights passed, with no respite and little succor for the encircled sky-troopers. The last few miles between the Second Army and the "patch of hell" at Arnhem were bitterly contested every inch of the way, and heavy aerial reinforcements were needed.

The Germans might lose the Battle of Arnhem, as the British had lost the Battle of Mons in 1914. But, like the British at Mons, they had bought time—time in which to man the northern outposts of the Siegfried Line and to prepare for the inevitable frontal drive across the north German plain which stretches for a length of 280 miles from the Dutch border to Berlin.

Inevitably, the question arose whether Lieutenant-General Brereton's air-borne army (of which three divisions and two brigades appeared to have been committed) had sufficient reserves to effect another "drop" soon behind the German border. Also, the question arose whether Allied aerial troops could be used among a hostile population. If not, there would be no further test of "vertical envelopment" in Western Europe. In any case, the Battle of Arnhem was not only one of the most decisive but also one of the most provocative the war has produced.

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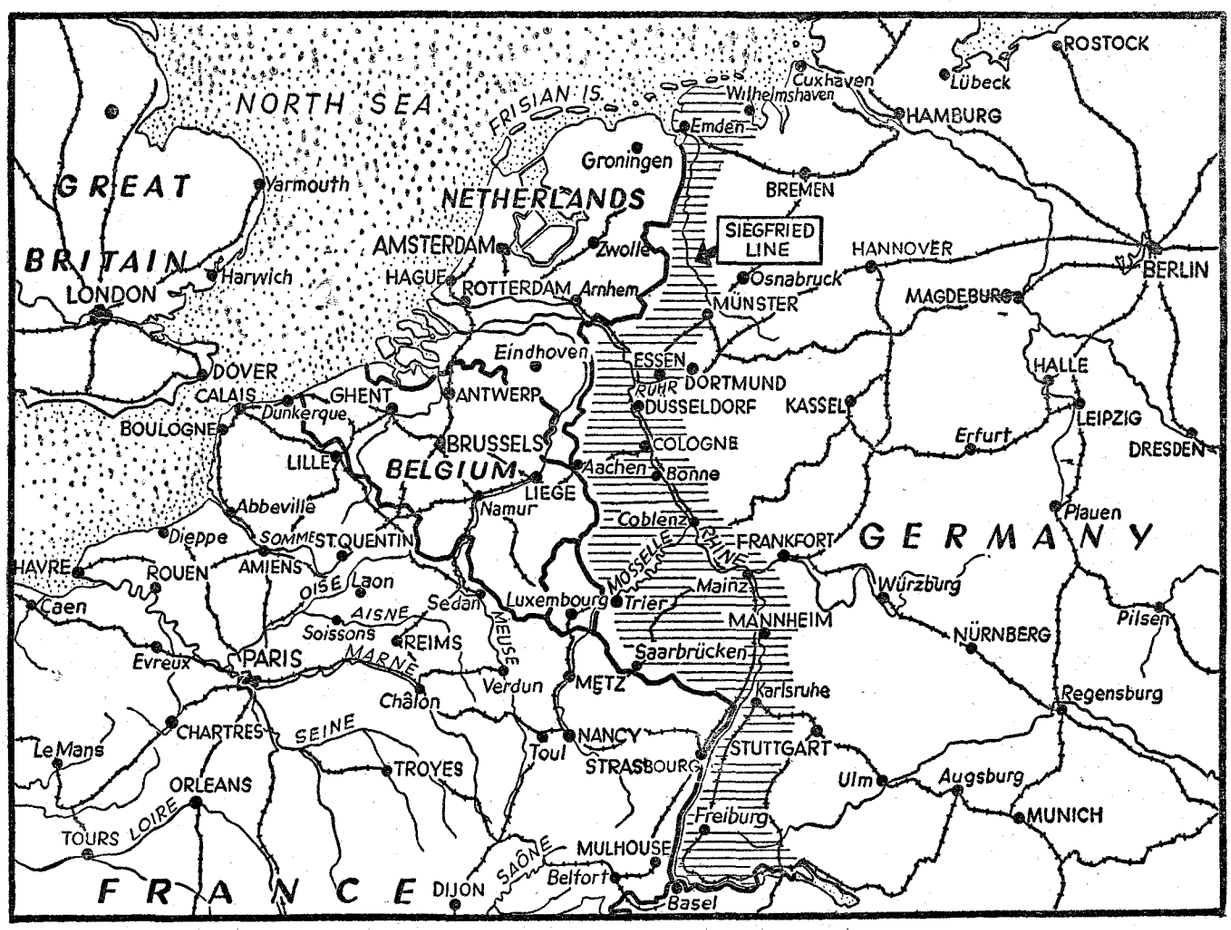
The East Is Like the West

Farther south, the Germans had shown initial weakness around Aachen because Lieutenant-General Hodges' American First Army got there before the elaborately prepared defensive positions in the Siegfried Line could be manned. But then they stiffened, and succeeded in virtually sealing off all the thrusts by three American armies from Aachen to the Swiss border. (It is an interesting sidelight on Lightning War, 1944 style, that there was fighting simultaneously in five countries: the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Germany.) The evident German desire to make the war drag on through the winter, and the equally evident Allied need for a breakthrough as soon as possible, foreshadowed the probable strategy: continuous pressure in the south by three American armies, and a wheel through Holland to flank the Siegfried Line—a sort of Schlieffen Plan in reverse. The operation would be the exact converse, both geographically and by nationalities, of that in Normandy, where the British pinned down the Germans at Caen while Lieutenant-General Patton wheeled around to the south.

By coincidence, the other great land front in Europe was in precisely the same stage as that in the west. The Russians were cleaning out the Baltic States, which bear the same relation to eastern Germany as does Holland to the west. After mopping up, there would be no more buffer territory between the Red Army and East Prussia.

Disaster in the Orient

The din of victories in the west has tended to drown out the disaster in the Orient which has been of almost equal compass. Still fighting an archipelagic war, in which great masses of troops are not required, Japan has been able to muster great strength for a grandiose if belated effort to cut China in two. It may not knock China out of the war; it may not even topple the uneasy Kuomintang regime which continues to blockade the Communist-led Eighteenth Group Army, regardless of the consequences. But the Japanese drive already has clipped the wings of Major-General Chennault's gallant fliers, in both the Fourteenth Air Force and



Schlieffen Plan in Reverse

With Germany exerting every effort to prevent a major Allied breakthrough on to the "holy soil," geography begins to dictate strategy. The Siegfried Line becomes progressively stronger as the hills upon which it is built rise from the knolls east of Arnhem to the mountains facing Basel. Only in the north, where the terrain and the line alike peter out, is it likely to be turned without prohibitive cost. Otherwise the Allies would proceed from one Cassino to another.

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the Chinese-American Composite Wing. It has created the danger that when the Burma Road is reopened, there may be nothing at the end of it to justify the effort. And it has created the certainty that there will be no longer land or air forces in the eastern provinces of China to welcome landings by either General MacArthur or Admiral Nimitz. It has prolonged the war and has forfeited the lives of countless Allied fighting men.

The President's First

The President's first campaign speech was undoubtedly one of the most effective political utterances of his whole career. No one who heard him could doubt that he was in rollicking good health and spirits. His use of sarcasm, irony and broad simple humor against the Republicans was just what the campaign needed at this point. It disposed effectively of some of Dewey's charges which have been too fantastic to deserve a serious and sober reply. At the same time, the President showed proper indignation against some of the "callous and brazen falsification" of the GOP Old Guard. If it was not a great speech—almost never does a political address deserve that adjective—it was a brilliant exhibition of political oratory at its best. It showed the President still the master of electoral strategy and tactics.

While this is true, no one should assume that very many votes are changed by any speech, no matter how good. The Democrats' worst opponent is still General Apathy. If the vote is small enough, Dewey is bound to win, for the simple reason that his followers are the people with the leisure and the strong motive to go to the polls—not to put Dewey in, but to put Roosevelt out. Everything depends on getting out the vote.

Dewey Turns New Dealer

Mr. Dewey's campaign trip has been an extraordinary spectacle. A climax was reached after the Los Angeles speech when The New York Times, which has seemed to favor his cause, announced that he was too much of a New Dealer for them. It is quite true that he has now endorsed nearly every important aspect of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policies. If the Republican Old Guard took his speeches seriously, they would be in a bad state of nerves. We don't believe, however, that the Old Guard is worried. We think the speeches are part of a plan to which the Old Guard is privy, to try to capture the independent liberal vote. We believe that if Mr. Dewey is elected, the liberalism of the Los Angeles speech will be sunk without a trace. The same is true of the protestations of faith in internationalism, so reminiscent of Harding's in 1920. We notice that even the most rabid isolationists, like The Chicago Tribune, continue to support Mr. Dewey. They certainly would not if they thought what he says were to be taken seriously.

Postwar Jobs and Congress

Congress has gone home without doing anything to protect those who may become unemployed when the war in Europe ends. After a long fight, the Senate decided to yield to the House on the question of unemployment compensation and travel pay for stranded war workers. The House still refused to approve the Senate's modest proposals for aiding the jobless in both of those ways. So after the proper speeches of regret, the Senate shrugged and concurred.

On both sides of the Capitol, the final words on the demobilization bill were that the human side of reconversion would get attention after election. Few of the more honest members hold out any such hope. If Congress is not willing to vote demobilization funds before election, it is even less likely to vote them afterward.

The Italian Muddle

The slaying by a Roman mob of Donato Carretta, fascist vice-director of the Regina Coeli prison and witness at the trial of Rome's former fascist police chief, Pietro Caruso, is symptomatic of the Italian people's pent-up emotions. In view of the slowness with which fascist criminals are being tried, and in view of the well known fraternization between some Allied personnel and some fascist fellow travelers, it would not be surprising if similar incidents should occur in the future. It has been reported that sporadic violence is becoming a commonplace in the provinces. A political meeting held by the Communist and Socialist Parties at Villalba, Sicily, was recently broken up by former fascist elements in the name of Sicilian separatism. In all likelihood Sicily's big landowners, fearing genuine democracy, are behind these efforts. And while Italian partisans in northern Italy are doing an excellent job of aiding our advancing armies, they are deprived of their weapons as soon as they find themselves behind the Allied lines.

Politics and Food

What the Italian people want are self-government and food. Mr. Roosevelt has said that it was decided at Quebec to confer steadily increasing responsibility on the Italian government and to protect the Italian people against starving and freezing this winter. One of the first steps in the direction of realizing this program would be the abolition of the Allied Control Commission, which has already been demanded by the Italian Socialist Party. The Commission is undoubtedly partly responsible for Italy's confused political picture because it has refused to support those democratic parties on which a democratic Italy must be based. The Italians know this very well. They also know that food is a political weapon, and they are quick enough to perceive that without food they are politically im-

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potent. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has finally provided $50,000,000 for "limited" relief in Italy. It is difficult to say whether this sum is sufficient to prevent starvation. At least it may help to halt the trend toward increasing hostility among democratic Italians toward their democratic liberators.

The Finnish Armistice

The terms of the Finnish armistice are milder than might have been expected. Perhaps most important is the fact that, unlike the Rumanian armistice, the Finnish treaty does not provide for Allied control of the press, telegraph, telephone, theatre and motion picture, thus permitting the Finns to clean their own political house. Moreover, the $300 million indemnity is only half the sum demanded last March. Finland retains, with slight changes, the borders of 1940. Petsamo is taken. Russia renounces the 99-year lease on the Hangoe peninsula in exchange for a 50-year lease on the Porkkala peninsula. The Finns may feel that these provisions are severe. But to the rest of the world they will not seem so, in view of Finland's wild political gamble of lining up with the Nazis, and her foolish reluctance, last March, to come to terms with the Russians, thus prolonging the war and immobilizing Russian troops needed elsewhere.

Lewis Makes the Usual Faces

John L. Lewis at the United Mine Workers' Convention behaved just as was to be expected. He ruthlessly suppressed all opposition within his own union, as he has been doing for years. He also managed to get his inveterate hostility to President Roosevelt into the official records of the convention. There is no reason to believe, however, that he will be any more effective in swaying his people politically than he has been on previous occasions. There is the best of reason to believe that 70 or 80 percent of the miners voted for Roosevelt in 1940, and that approximately the same proportion will do so again this year. Lewis' power is on the decline, both inside his union and, more especially, outside it, where he is little more than a cipher today.

Sauce for the Gander

The Political Action Committee of the CIO has just been investigated by a congressional committee, and has placed all its books and records at the disposal of the congressmen. On the other hand, Mr. Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government is refusing to open its books. So is a notorious witch-hunting outfit, the Constitutional Educational League. Mr. Gannett's group insists it is non-political, which is nonsense to anybody who has had to wade through its long, dull diatribes against the Roosevelt administration. One can imagine the uproar on the front pages of conservative newspapers if the CIO-PAC had made a similar refusal; yet these same papers gave only a few lines, in obscure places, to a defiance of governments by two reactionary groups which have spent and are spending large sums of money for a straight political purpose.

The Sleepy Lagoon Case Again

Good news comes from California. Two more of the boys in the "Sleepy Lagoon" murder case, unjustly convicted in January, 1943, after a thirteen-week trial which was based not on evidence but on anti-Mexican racial hysteria, have been released on parole. Parole dates have also been set for six others who were convicted of second-degree murder. But the remaining three, convicted of first-degree murder, may not appear for parole for seven years. An appeal to clear the names of all the boys of the murder charge is still pending.

Republican Smear Campaign

THE OUTLINES OF Republican strategy in attempting to gain power for the next four years are now becoming clear. While the presidential candidate tries to convince the electorate of his capacity to govern better than his opponent by discussions of international and domestic policy, the publicity agencies of the party are concentrating their fire in another direction, in an effort to arouse prejudices and animosities. Apparently the Republican experts in winning elections believe that dignified argument about the conduct of government will not suffice, and that Mr. Dewey cannot offer in terms of reason and logic a sufficiently attractive alternative to the present administration. At the same time, they believe that the more sordid task of personal attack had better be left to less eminent campaign orators than their presidential candidate.

Governor Bricker, Campaign Manager Brownell and the leading supporters of Mr. Dewey in the press have struck the keynote of the campaign by their concerted attack on Sidney Hillman and the Political Action Committee of the CIO. The reason for this major offensive must be obvious to any experienced political observer. The voters who have piled up the great popular majorities for Mr. Roosevelt in the past are mainly the industrial workers in Northern states and those who sympathize with their point of view. The Political Action Committee was formed for the purpose of stimulating the rank and file to register and vote, in the knowledge that if as many as possible participate in the elections, the return of Mr. Roosevelt to office is assured and there is a good chance of electing a more progressive Congress. Success in this endeavor would destroy Republican chances. The PAC is therefore the greatest obstacle Mr. Dewey has to overcome. The

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strategists of the opposition party are following the time-honored maxim of warfare that the best defense is an attack. They are also observing the cynical political principle that voters usually cast their ballots against something rather than for something.

Word has apparently gone out from headquarters that in this major struggle no holds are to be barred. Although in his long career Mr. Hillman has earned the respect of all those who have followed his activities as an intensely patriotic, constructive and statesmanlike union executive, he is smeared by being called "foreign-born." Although the record shows that on numerous occasions he has fought successfully within the labor movement to protect it against Communist domination, his name is never mentioned by Republican orators and publicity men without being coupled with that of Earl Browder, and it is repeatedly implied that he has entered into a partnership with the American Communists, whose leader Mr. Browder is. It is charged that there is something "un-American" about an attempt by a labor leader to arouse the workers to the issues of the campaign, in spite of the fact that the PAC does not confine its activities to wage-earners and also in spite of the fact that appeal to group interests is one of the oldest institutions in American politics. The Republican campaigners have never alleged that there is anything un-American about pressure groups representing business interests and farmers. Mr. Hillman is attacked as if he were a sort of boss of the Democratic Party, although the history of the past few months shows that he conducted a heroic struggle against the Democratic political bosses for the renomination of Vice President Wallace, and failed in the attempt.

It is not the present purpose to defend Mr. Hillman and the PAC against the many falsehoods which have been leveled at them, but rather to inquire what this unprincipled strategy of the Republicans may hope to accomplish and therefore what counter-measures ought to be taken. This is not a friendly contest, conducted according to the rules of sportsmanship, but a political warfare intended to weaken the forces of American progressivism by any possible means, including deception and calumny. The real facts about the PAC are easily available and must be known to Republican leaders, but it does not serve their purpose to be governed by the facts.

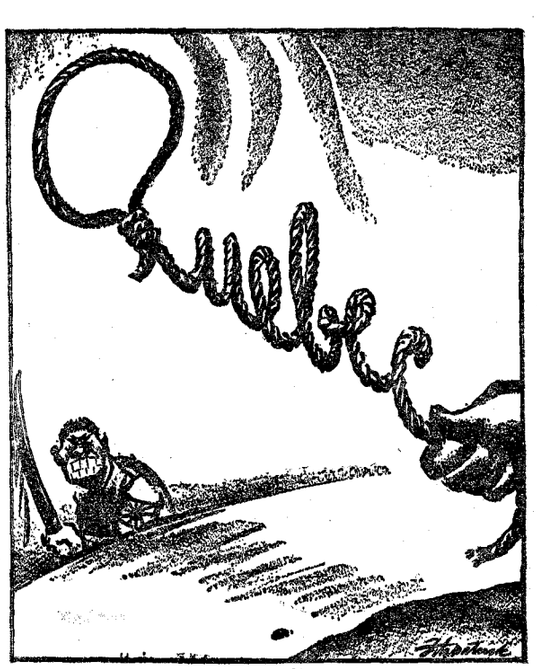
The objectives sought are to divide and weaken the labor movement and its progressive allies on the one hand, and to arouse hostility toward labor on the other. Since Mr. Hillman represents the CIO, it is hoped, by identifying him with the administration, to capture votes from the great rival of the CIO, the American Federation of Labor. Another aim is to weaken the influence of the PAC within the ranks of the CIO itself, by representing it as an autocratic and misguided movement. On the other hand, everyone who has been unsympathetic to organized labor may be galvanized into voting against President Roosevelt by this means of linking him with its only important political activity.

The attainment of these Republican objectives will only be facilitated if the forces behind the administration allow themselves to be separated and intimidated by it. The reply is rather for progressives to rally round the real objectives of the PAC, and to register and vote according to their convictions. Honest liberals who dislike dirty politics and have the interests of the nation at heart should be moved by this attack to demand of Mr. Dewey whether he assumes responsibility for the measures that are being employed. They should insist that if he is to appeal for their support he must conduct a campaign which deals intelligently with the great problems facing the country and the world.

The Carthaginians

WITH UNITED NATIONS armies on German soil, with the second Quebec Conference making last-minute decisions on the occupation of the Reich, and with Robert Murphy receiving instructions as political adviser to American occupation forces, the long debate over "what to do with Germany" emerges from the clouds of theoretical controversy to the firm but rocky ground of practical arrangements and specific actions which will determine the nature of the peace which the international organization will be required to maintain.

Germany is the last and major enemy on the Euro-



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Next Order of Business

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pean continent. Our policy-makers will no longer have the excuse of continuing military operations which will serve, as in Italy, to cloak and justify political blunders. Will the mistakes made in North Africa and in Italy be repeated? The appointment of Murphy seems an ominous portent.

While public opinion in the democracies can have no immediate effect upon the treatment accorded Germany, the pattern of the German settlement as it develops must be subjected, as was our Italian policy, to constant scrutiny. It is unfortunate that so much of the speculation regarding Germany's future has been charged with an irrelevant emotionalism that has obscured basic issues and prevented Americans from educating themselves beyond a vague internationalism to an appreciation of the kind of European settlement which will ensure peace.

The danger seen in the Italian precedent and the Murphy appointment is that of a "soft peace"—soft toward the Nazis and those who supported their nationalist aggression. It would be all too easy, in an attempt to maintain order and forestall leftward tendencies which may arise in German democratic movements, to leave in power, industrially if not politically, the same elements which have always provided the sinews of war. At the other extreme, the advocates of a "hard peace" which would not discriminate among Germans but attempt to reduce them all to penury and powerlessness, have achieved the ultimate in revengeful absurdity. Typical of this school is the reported plan of Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, which, it is said, President Roosevelt took to Quebec in spite of the opposition of Secretaries Hull and Stimson. This plan, after removing from German industrial plants whatever machinery is necessary to replace that destroyed in conquered countries by the Nazis, would dismantle the rest, settle the German industrial population on small farms and refuse Germany any help in rebuilding her economy.

There need be no fear that anything like the full Morgenthau plan will be executed, not merely because it is both immoral and unwise, but because it is utterly impossible. Let us imagine that the Allied armies, after occupying the Ruhr, blow up Krupp and other great industrial plants. What will they do with the hundreds of thousands of workers? These workers are not farmers, and there is not enough land in Germany on which to settle them with any chance of self-subsistence even if they were. Will they be allowed to starve? Will they be massacred wholesale in food riots? If they are fed over an indefinite period of years, who is going to pay the bill? The obvious truth is that the Germans cannot survive except as an industrial nation, and Europe for the sake of its own future cannot permit them to become less productive.

The real danger is that the advocates of an indiscriminately hard peace will play into the hands of the appeasers. Without the aid of the German democrats it will be impossible to enforce a hard peace on all those in German life who were really responsible for Hitlerism. Without allowing scope for German democracy both in politics and in industry, it will be hopeless to create any alternative for the forces which may again disrupt world peace.

As a practical political matter, to pursue the tactic of damning all Germans is to obscure the political cleavages and class distinctions which prevailed in pre-Nazi Germany as in all European countries. In these cleavages and distinctions lies our only hope of salvaging European peace. The net effect of the Carthaginian propaganda line is to cast doubt on the reliability of all underground revolutionary forces which may arise in Germany after Hitler. It is not enough to assert, "The good Germans were always ineffective." Our task is to let them be effective, something we failed to do last time.

Germany needs a thoroughgoing people's revolution which will destroy the power, not only of the General Staff, but of the Junker landlordism and monopoly capitalism which have been the driving forces behind Nazi aggression. Similar economic forces played similar roles in Fascist Italy, yet our present policy in Italy is not calculated to destroy their power. In the case of Germany, we still have time to profit by past errors. But failure to make contact with healthy revolutionary elements in Germany will be a high price to pay for the emotional satisfaction to be derived from castigating the whole German people. Moreover, failure to recognize the international character of fascism means we are blind to the deep faults within our own society, faults which produced a generation of indifference to and appeasement of fascist aggression. It has been said that a United Nations victory will represent "a fighting chance for a sick society." This chance will be lost if we attempt to reduce the complex plight of the modern world to the absurd dimensions of a flaw in the German germ-plasm.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Tax Reduction for Full Employment

Should the Corporations Plan Our Taxes?

THE TAX-REDUCERS are on the march. They are converging upon Washington with a variety of proposals which they believe will guarantee employment and prosperity after the war. Four plans have attained the spotlight: the CED's, Harold M. Groves's, Ruml-Sonne's and the Twin Cities'. These plans, and many earlier ones, recommend either the removal of corporation income and excess-profits taxes or the reduction of corporation tax rates. Groves and Ruml want the former taxes repealed, provided the corporate form of business organization is not used to avoid the payment of individual income taxes. The CED and Twin Cities plans want corporation taxes lightened.

Drives for tax reduction after major wars are not new. Similar efforts were made to lower taxes on corporate earnings and on high individual incomes after the First World War. Andrew Mellon and Nicholas Longworth not only succeeded in liquidating the excess-profits tax, but slashed the surtax rates on individual incomes to a top rate of only 25 percent.

What is new in the present situation, however, is the development of a popular philosophy of taxation which stresses the role of taxes as an instrument of social control. To be sure, economists have long known that taxes affect the form and functioning of businesses. But for the first time the public at large is developing opinions as to these effects. Taxes are no longer regarded as devices merely to raise money to meet government expenses. Many now believe that they make all the difference between prosperity and depression. The concern over the economic effects of taxes may actually go too far. Tax reform should not become, after this war, the panacea that money reform was after the last war.

The corporation income tax, which so many now want to remove, was first adopted in 1909 by the Republicans in a vain attempt to offset the rising tide in favor of a personal income tax. It began with rates of one percent on corporate net income over $5,000. Today the corporation income tax has increased to a normal rate of 24 percent and a maximum surtax rate

POSTWAR TAX PLANS

The Ruml-Sonne Plan. – This plan was prepared by Beardsley Ruml of R. H. Macy and Company and H. C. Sonne, New York City business man, for the National Planning Association. It recommends:

(1) Unbalanced budgets until some agreed level of high employment and high production is reached; (2) abolition of federal income taxes on corporations, provided measures are adopted at the same time to prevent the use of the corporate form of business as a device (a) to avoid payment of individual income taxes and (b) to obtain undue tax advantages over unincorporated businesses; (3) a small franchise tax of five percent on corporations; (4) reliance upon the progressive individual income tax as the chief source of federal revenue, and substantial reductions of this tax from present rates; (5) opposition to a general sales tax; and (6) retention of the 1943 levels of excise taxation on tobacco, alcoholic beverages and gasoline.

The Groves Plan. – This plan was prepared by Professor Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin for the Committee for Economic Development. It favors:

(1) Elimination of the federal corporation income tax, except as a withholding levy on dividends or an advance payment on income retained by the corporation for reinvestment; (2) repeal of the excess-profits tax one year after the end of the war; (3) use of the personal income tax as the main source of federal revenue; (4) reduction of middle and upper individual income-tax rates; and (5) opposition to the sales tax.

The Twin Cities Plan. – This plan was prepared under the direction of a group of St. Paul and Minneapolis business men of whom F. D. Weyerhaeuser is probably the most widely known. It recommends:

(1) Reduction of corporate tax rates for corporations with net incomes under $50,000, and retention of wartime corporation tax rates (40 percent) on those above $50,000; (2) abolition of the capital-stock and declared-value excess-profits taxes; (3) a retail sales tax of five percent with no exemptions; (4) reduction of the normal individual income-tax rate from 13 to 10 percent and the surtax-rate schedule from 13-82 percent to 6-50 percent.

The Committee for Economic Development Plan. – This plan was prepared by the research committee of the CED. Although Professor Groves assisted the committee, not all of his proposals were accepted in the final report. It recommends:

(1) Reduction of the rates on the personal income tax on the lowest income bracket to a standard tax of 16 to 20 percent; (2) reduction of excise taxes by $3 billion or "to the degree that revenue will permit"; elimination of all excise taxes except those on liquor, tobacco and gasoline; (3) reduction of corporation income-tax rates to 16 to 20 percent and deduction of these taxes from personal taxable income as taxes "collected at the source"; (4) elimination of the excess-profits tax.

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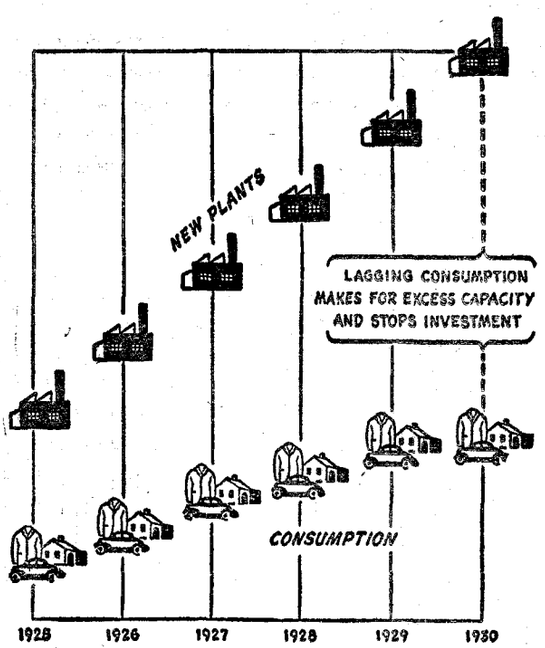
of 16 percent on net corporate incomes over $50,000. Corporations with this total rate of 40 percent are naturally the most eager for tax reduction.

Arguments for Reducing Corporation Taxes. – Corporation taxpayers want their taxes reduced for three main reasons. First, they say that corporate taxes are a heavy business cost and discourage investment and employment. At the present time, those who are paying corporation and individual income taxes at the highest rates have very little left over after they pay their taxes. If a man earns 100-percent corporate profits before taxes, these earnings are reduced to 2 percent if he pays excess-profits-tax rates of 80 percent and personal-income-tax rates of 90 percent. What happens to incentive when so little is left over? Will those who own large blocks of stock vote to employ more workers and invest more capital when they earn so little after taxes? Most investors, however, do not pay such high taxes. In spite of heavy corporation taxes, total business profits have skyrocketed. According to the Department of Commerce, *taxes did not begin to catch up with high profits until after 1943.* By 1944 the poor little rich boys, so heavily burdened by taxes, had accumulated $43 billion of net war profits.

Second, elimination of corporation income taxes is urged because they result in double taxation. Beardsley Ruml of R. H. Macy and Company and Professor Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin point out that taxes on corporations "double tax" large numbers of small taxpayers who receive corporate income, since they pay taxes on their income as corporation earnings and also as personal income. On two counts these taxes are considered bad. They reduce purchasing power by cutting down the incomes of thousands of small stockholders, and the double taxation they cause is unfair. When the corporation income tax was integrated with the personal income tax in 1913, there was no double taxation of this sort. The normal corporation-tax rates equaled the normal rates of the personal income tax and taxpayers could deduct corporation taxes paid at the source from the amount they owed on their personal income taxes. This deduction is no longer possible.



Why We Need Greater Consumption

This graph shows vividly the relationship between consumption and new productive capacity in the years 1925 to 1930. Reprinted, by permission, from "Mobilizing for Abundance," by Robert R. Nathan, the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

The third reason for recommending removal of corporation income taxes is that they interfere with business judgment. As Ruml puts it, in attempting to avoid corporation taxes, business policies concerning expenditure, capital transactions and pricing may be distorted. He believes that we need postwar tax revisions ". . . that would eliminate the corporation income tax as a cost of production and distribution, that would tax the shareholder at least once only on the earnings attributable to him, and that would encourage rather than inhibit the distribution of earnings as dividends."

Corporation Taxes and Full Employment. – Ruml, Groves and other tax moderns preface their proposals for the elimination of the corporation tax with oaths of allegiance to full employment and production. Their tax proposals are in reality over-all plans to balance the economic system through fiscal policies that will counterbalance tendencies toward business depression. It is one thing to advocate high business profits for their own sake as an expression of the "American Way," and quite another to advocate them for full employment. Liberals can support the latter sort of tax reduction for business, if it really ensures full employment. Corporation-tax reduction to promote full employment and to prevent the double taxation of small taxpayers is a *liberal* proposal. Punitive corporation taxation belongs mainly to the good old muckraking days when corporations typified the evils of Wall Street and the Cross of Gold. We are much more sophisticated now and new scapegoats compete for our attention.

If liberals are to support the reduction or elimination of corporation taxes after the war, however, they ought to have some assurance that the results will be in the public interest. Corporation-tax reduction seems wise and progressive for the reasons we have stated. But what assurance is there that once corporation taxes have been reduced, full employment will be provided and similar tax reductions will be allowed for distressed low-income groups, particularly those earning from $500 to $2,000? More employment can result only if the lower costs of production brought about by tax reductions encourage business men to expand and employ more workers. More purchasing power will

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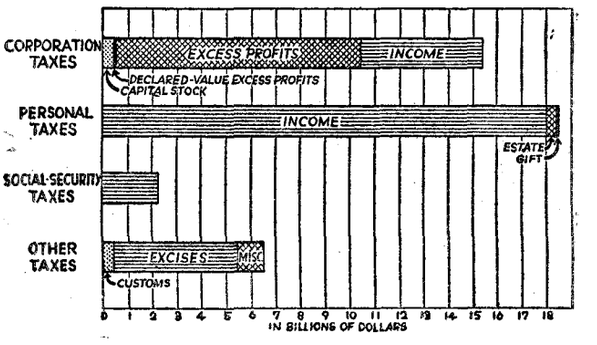
result only if the lower costs lead to lower market prices. These consequences are not automatic or inevitable. Reduction of business tax costs may lead to higher monopoly profits rather than to more employment and consumer purchasing power. What assurance also is there that the corporations will not counter-attack with a sales-tax proposal (as they did in the Twin Cities plan), once liberals have agreed to the elimination of the corporation income tax? We must not allow corporation-tax reductions to be used as an excuse for a sales tax.

The Need for Reform. – Whether corporation taxes should be eliminated or not, they are badly in need of reform. It will be very easy for conservatives to capitalize on this situation, since most public-finance experts throw up their hands in horror at the muddle which has resulted from many conflicting pressures. Large bonded indebtedness allows corporations to escape taxation under the present laws, since interest on debt can be deducted from corporate net income. Excessive financing through bonds and overexpansion of corporate debts results. Corporations which prefer to keep their equities in the form of stocks are discriminated against. The provisions for obsolescence and the treatment of capital gains and losses require revision. Corporation taxes also do not give any advantages to small or new businesses. Businesses are still relatively small when they have a net income above $50,000, but with this net income they pay the maximum corporation-tax rates. No distinctions between new and old corporations are made in the federal tax law and no deductions are allowed for new enterprises. After the war we ought to stimulate new enterprises which invest unused savings and provide employment. Corporation taxes take no account of these postwar needs for new investment.

The Individual Tax Burden. – Corporation-tax revision, however, must not be made an excuse for excessive tax burdens upon individual income-tax payers. The Twin Cities program lowers some of the rates on both corporation and individual income taxes, but taxes on low incomes would be restored if the five-percent sales tax it proposes were adopted. Sales taxes, according to Randolph Paul, formerly the Treasury's chief tax adviser, fall three times as heavily on the income brackets below $2,000 as they do upon those above $10,000. Groves, although opposing the sales tax, recommends continuation of the wartime rates and exemptions on low incomes. He wants the tax burdens on the wealthy taxpayers who receive income from corporate earnings reduced, while poor taxpayers, who can hardly pay the wartime rates, get no relief. The Ruml plan provides for the reduction of personal income taxes to increase purchasing power. This plan is commendable for its combination of corporate and personal income-tax reductions. This two-fold approach may encourage production and employment, both by inducing employers to hire more labor and by stimulating consumer spending.

The CED plan, while retaining the low $500 personal exemption, would reduce the rates on the lowest income brackets to 16 or 20 percent. Corporation-tax rates would be reduced to the same level and corporate taxes would be deductible from the personal tax as income paid at the source, thus eliminating all corporation double taxation. The rates proposed, however, would cut personal income taxes by $2.5 billion and corporate income taxes by $9 billion. Since the upper-bracket income receivers would benefit most from corporation tax cuts, this CED plan would seriously shift tax burdens to the poor, unless excise taxes are cut more than the $3 billion the plan recommends.

The discriminations in some of these tax plans against the low-income-bracket taxpayers are striking. Before the war, people with incomes below $500 were already paying 22 percent of their incomes in hidden taxes, that is, taxes included in the prices they paid and of whose existence they were unaware. Those fortunate enough to have incomes of from $1,500 to $2,000 were paying 17.6 percent in hidden taxes. Hidden taxes were increased by the war. With the broadening of the income-tax base, low-income receivers began for the first time to pay individual income taxes. Personal exemptions for single individuals were dropped to $500. The lowest income receivers, who earned from $500 to $2,000, had to pay normal rates of 6 percent and surtax rates of 13 percent. When the Victory Tax was added to the bottom rates, the total was 22 percent. *Because of the addition of high personal income taxes, these low-income receivers are now giving up about 40 percent of their income.* Application of the supposedly progressive income tax to them has made it barely possible to maintain a decent living standard. They would have been much better off with a 10-percent fed-



Where the Money Comes From

The diagram above gives the estimated annual revenue yield of federal taxes under the 1944 tax law, at the 1944 level of income. It is based upon hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee, as quoted in "Production, Jobs and Taxes," by Harold M. Groves, published for the Committee for Economic Development by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

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eral sales tax. One can readily see why even conservatives are beginning to urge the exclusive use of the personal income tax, which is based upon "ability to pay."

It is particularly unfortunate that some postwar tax reformers fear only the effects of corporation income taxes on full employment and production. They want to exempt corporate income receivers from all corporation taxes while continuing the heaviest tax burden upon low personal incomes that this country has ever known. Those with fixed incomes, who have not been able to offset increasing tax burdens by high war wages, are hard hit. Why this group, numbering more than 15 millions, according to the Secretary of Labor, are not now counter-marching on Washington against the corporation-tax reducers is certainly one of the mysteries of middle-class psychology.

We do not need war rates on personal income after the war. Total federal taxes amounted to $42 billion in 1944, of which corporation taxes of all types were $15,366 million. Personal taxes for the same year amounted to $18,500 million. It is widely believed that postwar federal budgets will not exceed $20 billion. Even if corporation taxes were completely eliminated, we could reduce the burden on individual incomes by at least $5 billion. The Ruml-Sonne plan states that considerable personal income-tax reduction is possible.

Death House or Reformatory? – The federal corporation taxes which have been part of our tax system since 1909 should not be entirely eliminated. As Professor Gerhard Colm has pointed out, we do not need to send the corporation tax to the death house. It should go to the reformatory. Corporation taxes can play an important and useful part in our federal and state tax systems. They can help prevent tax evasion and avoidance. If corporation taxes were eliminated, what would prevent the piling up of tax-free unpaid dividends in corporate reserves? Billions of dollars of income escaped taxation in this way after the last war. Failure to distribute this income was one important cause of the depression of 1929. The New Deal fought valiantly to prevent these and many other tax loopholes. Ruml, Groves and many others have recommended the revival of the undistributed-profits tax to prevent tax avoidance and to increase consumer demand. The CED plan has no proposal to meet this problem.

After the war we need corporation taxes on undistributed profits, personal holding companies, multiple trusts and on all corporate devices used to avoid taxes. We can make good use of corporation taxes to favor small over large businesses. Preservation of small business is an essential of economic democracy. All corporations with net earnings under $50,000 should be exempted from general corporation income taxes. It would be wise to go farther than the Twin Cities plan, which merely proposes a reduction of the rates on these corporations.

Whatever modifications we make in our corporation income-tax laws, it is well to remember that the deterrent effects of corporation taxation upon investment and production are often greatly exaggerated. It was generally taken for granted in the late thirties that private-business capital expenditures had not recovered and that business on the whole was unprofitable. Actually, manufacturing and mining capital expenditures in 1937 were about as high as in 1928. The failure of profits to recover to the levels of the middle twenties was highly concentrated in the fields of finance, railroads and service industries, and did not characterize "business in general," according to careful studies by government price experts. It is difficult to prove statistically that New Deal corporation taxes prevented the expansion of corporate business in 1936 and 1937, when these taxes were supposedly very burdensome. It is just as difficult to prove that low corporation taxes in Hoover's administration promoted recovery and employment.

Wanted: A Fiscal Policy for Full Employment. – The truth is that taxation is not the only factor determining the volume of business that corporations do or the number of persons they employ. The older economists thought that cost reduction alone caused business recovery and it was these men Hoover followed in his unsuccessful economic policies from 1929 to 1932. Investment and business profits are due primarily to consumer demand. The great demand for all types of commodities today largely offsets the effects of high taxes. *We need a comprehensive fiscal policy providing for government spending and unbalanced budgets.* The Ruml-Sonne plan proposes that the federal budget remain unbalanced until a high level of production and employment is reached. Business men as well as the great mass of American citizens should be primarily interested in the maintenance of consumer demand. Tax reduction on low incomes is essential for the expansion of consumer demand after the war. Presumably, low-income groups are now paying heavy taxes because their demand for commodities is a large part of total demand. It was said that we had to reduce their great spending power to prevent wartime inflation.

There are strong arguments for the reduction of corporation income taxes, especially upon the smaller corporations with net incomes below $50,000, but reduction of these taxes should not be used as an excuse for new taxes upon the low-income brackets or for the retention of wartime personal income-tax rates. Low-income receivers should share in tax reductions, since their incomes significantly affect consumer demand. Federal taxes upon corporations should be used primarily to prevent tax avoidance and the restriction of purchasing power.

WILLIAM WITHERS

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SS Booker T. Washington

IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD, men often concealed the heart of their faith in the crypts of their churches. Coming down dark, winding stairs you find in the shine of candles some glorious mosaic, some fresco bursting with life, or chiseled capitals spelling out a dream of hope. On the SS Booker T. Washington you climb down the long, steep engine-room ladder, gripping the hand-rails so nearly unbearably hot, down under the sea level. Then your feet are on the plates, polished and clean, lifting and falling with the swell. You move to the chant of burnished, pulsing shafts in the rich odor of oil like incense, and you come on the painted medallions. They stand out on the clear aluminum color of the boiler fronts, warm as the roaring flames within. They are the vision of "Red" Herrick, a white artist who once tended these boilers as an act of faith and of love, risking his body in the perilous enterprise of war. Off watch, he spread out on the blank, tempting surface of his boilers the dream that filled him, the dream of brothers.

Booker T. Washington looks out from one, the sad but strongly believing face and the book he wrote, "Up from Slavery." A white hand shakes a black hand in another. Intent dark faces bend over desks, with books. Men climb, white and black together, up tortuous stairs, behind banners, toward shining habitations. Here is the secret of this ship, explosive as one of the big bombs in the forward hold on its way to blast fascism, more powerful than the pent-up steam in the high-pressure cylinder.

Whatever port we touched—for I was privileged for more than a year to be a part of this ship, a citizen of this new world—we shook men to their foundations. Not by preaching, though we were sometimes accused of carrying on "agitation," but by simply being. Everyone had said it couldn't be done. Here was the living proof.

We who sailed under Captain Hugh Mulzac were no band of saints, no select company of fanatic volunteers, but just the common run of men. We were white, black and brown—mostly Americans, though we included also Brazilians, Filipinos, Scandinavians, Spaniards, Persians, West Indians, Peruvians. Among us were white men, born and bred in the South, who took orders from Negro officers, ate and slept alongside Negro shipmates, went ashore in foreign ports with Negroes—and on occasion knocked down those who wanted to make something out of it.

I am still too close to the experience to connect everything up, and the war still imposes its limitations on what can be told, but these blank sheets, like Red Herrick's boiler fronts, seem to be made for medallions. . . .

Mac, the Negro third mate, and I, both in our brass-bound officer's uniforms, after a hike up and down cliffs by the Mediterranean, stray into a small bar for a beer. The place is crowded with GI's, all white, who are quartered nearby. They look us over with disbelief, never having seen the like, a white and a Negro officer drinking together and talking with complete unconstraint like any two friends.

Mac pushes money across the counter to pay for our beers, but a GI pushes it back to him. "This is on me," he says. Mac and I don't get out of there until we've been treated to far more beers than we need from GI's who won't take no for an answer. One follows us out, a tough Southerner, brother of a famous University of Alabama football player. He grabs Mac's arm and takes us down the street to meet a wonderful Spanish family he knows. They are Loyalist refugees, with a daughter whom the Southerner considers the most beautiful person on earth and the only woman for him.

The Spanish people send out for salt fish, bread, tomatoes and wine—fiercely rejecting our money—and we have dinner with them. Mac with his sailor's Spanish and I with my almost forgotten French tell the girl and her family what a great guy the tough Southerner is. They agree, for he got medicine from the army hospital for grandmother when she was so sick and he brings chocolate bars for the children and cans of C rations. But the girl positively will not go to the movies with him. She has a husband in one of Franco's concentration camps. She had a husband, that is, six years ago when he went in, but he might still be living, and she is waiting to see. After dinner we leave and the Southerner goes with us. Before we break up, he tells me Mac is one of the finest guys he ever met. He says he wishes the army was like our ship must be.

Captain Mulzac is teaching his navigation class on the shelter deck, which "Chips" Reed fixed up like a schoolroom with a blackboard, benches and desks that fold down from the bulkheads. The skipper has put a long problem on the board, all about azimuths, and the heads puzzle—the blond one of Jim Youngdale, the navy gunnery officer; the kinky one of Ted, the ordinary seaman—all the heads puzzle. Every evening after supper we have classes—Engineering, Mathematics, Cooking and Baking, Radio, Hygiene and First Aid, Seamanship—a ship's meeting or forum on world problems and trade-unionism. The Captain sometimes teaches the class in Cooking and Baking as well as the one on Navigation. On Christmas he rolled up his sleeves and made the plum pudding himself and

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mixed the hard sauce. It was the best plum pudding you ever tasted. And he baked a huge cake for a Christmas party in his quarters. He had wine and vermouth to go with it. It made us forget how far we were from home and how soon we would be leaving that port for further up the line, with troops and invasion cargo.

The people are so jammed against the doors of the big hall that we, who are the hosts, have to make up a flying wedge to crash through. Bruce, our Negro bos'n who as "Babyface Johnson" used to fight as a heavyweight in the Garden, spearheads the drive. We have got to get in there to welcome people. Inside, our French friends, the trade-union leaders who are giving the dance with us, rush up and grab our hands. ("Are you sure these people won't object to mixing the races?" the Army Special Services officer had asked the Captain and me when we applied for permission to use the hall.)

Our French friends tell us there hasn't been such a gala turnout in town since the beginning of the war. Why haven't the Americans done something like this before, to show they really mean what they say about unity with their allies?

The place is already packed with people—girls in their pitiful war-best (most of these people were bombed out and lost everything), French sailors with their red-tasseled caps and blue collars, British soldiers, American sailors and GI's, French workingmen in their patched and shiny suits. On the stage are two orchestras, one French and one a hot band from a Negro anti-aircraft outfit. Back of them are the massed flags of the United Nations and a big banner we made out of a sheet aboard ship: NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA, CIO.

Dancing has begun and the Captain and I sit down to watch. The Army Special Services officer rushes up to us, enraged and frightened. The dance must be stopped at once; everybody must go home. "Why?" we ask. "Too many people," he screams. "We might have a riot." "But why?" we ask again. "Everybody is orderly. Everybody is having a fine time. If you tried to stop them now, you really would have a riot." We tell him we believe the dance will help to cement good relations with the French. "I know these French," he says. "They aren't real French. They're mongrels and they hate us. We don't want to have anything to do with them. If I'd known what kind of a dance you were planning, I never would have let you have the hall. I thought you just wanted to ask a few of your special friends."

So he has the doors shut, with at least a thousand people outside still trying to get in. But the dance goes on, with easily 2,000 inside. Then the MP's appear and the SP's, dozens of them. One MP major with a pistol lurches up and down, looking as if he wants to use it. They had found him in his hangout at the Officers' Bar, already pretty far gone. I ask him what trouble he is looking for, and he says, "Too many people," so I explain to him that democracy means people, and there can't be too many. He looks about ready to pull that pistol, so I move on. Somebody says there is a company of troops drawn up outside, ready to break up the affair. This turns out to be only a rumor, or a threat from the drunken major. The closest thing to trouble is when a couple of American lieutenants ask two French women, in the presence of their husbands, to sleep with them that night. This gets handled quietly, by the French and us, while the MP's idly swing their clubs along the walls.

The time comes for speeches. Captain Mulzac gets up in front of the massed flags and the NMU banner and tells everybody in his simple English that this is the kind of thing the American people really stand for, the getting together of the common people all over the world, and they must believe him no matter what they see that would lead them to think something else. Then he announces that the crew of the SS Booker T. Washington is giving $100—5,000 francs —to the French Resistance Movement. Though they haven't understood, the French applaud with huge enthusiasm and when what he has said is translated to them, the place rocks.

We bluff our way past him, the Vichyite chief of Security in Morocco, by telling him we represent the American people who have sent these cigarettes and this clothing (really a collection taken up aboard ship) to their brothers, the Spanish fighters against fascism who are still in his jail. He looks at "Chips" Reed, Deck Engineer Harry Alexander and myself and we can see him break with fear, believing that we do really represent the American people. We tell him that we don't trust him to deliver the cigarettes and the clothing; that the American people instructed us to hand them over in person to the Spanish prisoners themselves. With his Director of Penal Institutions as escort, we drive across country to the great penitentiary and find the men we are looking for. We meet them assembled in a big room with barred windows. They wear rough gray homespun from the prison workshop with a big T (for *"Travail Forcé"*) on their breasts. Down the corridor are the prison kitchens and the stink comes to us of the rotten food cooking. The men are quiet, upright and their eyes are steady. We tell them our gifts come from their brothers in America in gratitude for their fight against the common enemy. They answer that all they want their brothers in America to do for them is to get them out of there and back into the fight. They have been offered their release if they will accept passage to Mexico, but have refused it. All they want is the chance to fight again, alongside their American brothers.

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The Italian coast is close to starboard, blue misty cliffs studded with golden houses. Lieutenant Joe hands me a letter, signed by all the officers in the crack combat outfit (white) we have had aboard for the past week and are about to deliver to the front. "We are unanimous," it reads, "in the realization of our good fortune to have been placed aboard the Booker T. Washington. Many miles we have sailed the seas on other ships, but never before has such good fellowship been shown. . . ." Heading the signers is the Southern colonel in command. And another letter, from the GI's: "So, men of the Booker T. Washington, as long as there are soldiers to talk and pass on their experiences, the BTW will live. . . . Please accept these thanks, pitifully small. The soldiers will not forget."

The spokesman of the 500 Nazi prisoners we are bringing back to America is talking: "Our leaders told us that democracy in America was a fraud. They told us you were hypocritical when you said all men were free and equal. They told us Negroes were no better than slaves in your country. But what we have seen on this ship, the happiness, the comradeship among all of you, your fairness to us when we had been told that you would beat and abuse us, all that has made us think. At night, after the lights go out down in the hold, we talk about it, all of us." JOHN BEECHER

Mr. Bullitt's "Romans"

AT LAST someone has gone to Italy, not to "purify" or to "decontaminate" it, not to "reëducate" it to democracy, but to draw precious lessons from that ancient fountain of learning and wisdom. Mr. William C. Bullitt, the former ambassador from the United States to Russia and France, was the exceptional man. In Rome he took "the Romans"—nay, "the Italians"—as his schoolmasters. Thus he put himself in a position to see "the world from Rome." And he has allowed us to share this privilege in the September 4, 1944, issue of Life magazine.

From his report we gather that the prestige of Great Britain is enormous in Italy, but "the Romans" feel that the power of Britain is no longer what it was in the nineteenth century. "In the Italian view," Great Britain will emerge from this war a very tired victor—and then who will stem the communist tide in Europe? "All men throughout Italy" ask whether this war will result in the subjugation of Europe by Moscow instead of by Berlin.

"The Romans" believe that future generations will lay a heavy blame upon the American government for not asking Stalin, in the summer of 1941 when Russia was threatened with destruction by Hitler, to pledge himself to respect the "independence of the states of Europe," in return for the American supplies he needed. "The Italians" think that, because of this omission, the withdrawal of American and British forces from the continent will leave them at the mercy of the Soviet Union.

"The Romans" are very erudite on all kinds of affairs. They are surprisingly well informed about events in Poland. They have been shocked by the recognition of the Polish Government of Liberation by the Soviet Union. "The Romans" know intimately the personal records of each of the fifteen members of that committee, starting with Emile Sommerstein, Eduard Osupka-Murawski and General Michael Rola-Zymierskiy. Perhaps neither you nor the present writer has ever heard of these gentlemen. But "the Italians" know them from first-hand knowledge. Without any Gallup Poll, they know that "nearly all Poles in Poland" recognize as their legitimate government, not the Communist Committee but the Government-in-Exile sitting in London.

"The Romans" expect Soviet Russia to dominate the whole of Eastern Europe from Finland and East Prussia to Czecho-Slovakia and Bulgaria. "Being of the same race as Machiavelli" (Machiavelli is never missing when an "expert" speaks of Italy), "the Italians" cannot conceal their admiration for the skill of Soviet imperialism. But no hope whatever is held "in Italy" that Rumania will remain an independent state. "The Romans" believe that Hungary will be occupied by the Red Army. "The Italians" have "ample documentary proof" that Russia endeavors to set up a communist government in Yugoslavia. They fear that even Austria may fall under the control of Moscow. This prospect terrifies them. "Bolshevism on the Brenner would, they fear, mean Stalinism soon in Lombardy." In any event, "the Romans" hope that the British army will reach Austria before the Red Army, and will install there "a democratic government under a monarchy," so fulfilling the hopes of the Austrian monarchists who "work and pray for the return of Otto of Hapsburg." In Rome it is hoped that the United States will support Great Britain in her next anti-Russian ordeal.

"The Italians" have no time to worry about Germany. But they trust that the British, the French and the Americans will keep at least Germany west of the river Elbe out of Soviet control. "The Romans" know Hitler and fear that he will turn Germany over to the communists at the moment of collapse. If this nightmare were to materialize, the last, slim hope for the future would collapse in Italy.

"The Romans" do not expect peace. If they are op-

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timists, they expect the Third World War to begin in about fifteen years between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, backed by Britain and the United States. If they are pessimists, they expect that Western Europe, Britain and the United States will not dare to fight.

Let us catch our breath for a moment. Mr. Bullitt always says "the Romans" or "the Italians," and never "some Romans" or "my Italian friends." All Italians, all Romans, are wonders of knowledge, paragons of wisdom and prophets of the first magnitude. Who ever thought that they needed democratic reëducation? No American college professor of political science or international relations or contemporary history or geography can compete with Mr. Bullitt's "Roman" taxi-drivers or "Italian" cobblers.

However, Mr. Bullitt might have found in California everything he discovered in Rome. He himself is "the Romans" and "the Italians." There are people who cannot take a step without inserting their own "I" everywhere. Mr. Bullitt is an unobtrusive man. He never says "I." He humbly says "the Romans" or "the Italians." But why go to Rome? "Romans" and "Italians" can reach the same conclusion without leaving my room in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Thus, let us say that "all men throughout Italy" (Cambridge, Mass.) think that the British Foreign Office and the American State Department run the risk of bringing about communist regimes in Central, Western and Southern Europe, not because they do not follow Mr. Bullitt's advice, but because they do not dare to break away from Mr. Bullitt's misconceptions. Neither Mr. Bullitt nor our political leaders want to realize that the upper classes and the conservative parties, who have been responsible for the present European disaster, are doomed everywhere in Europe. This being so, our leaders everywhere should support those middle-of-the-road democratic and socialistic groups which are not willing to allow the Stalinists a free hand, but at the same time intend to do away with the economic and political privileges of their former bankrupt leaders.

Instead of this, what do we see? We see that the Allies have tried or are trying to rescue from shipwreck all the remnants of the prewar social and political set-up in Europe: Giraud and Peyrouton in France, Otto in Austria, Badoglio and the House of Savoy in Italy, Peter in Yugoslavia, George in Greece, Michael in Rumania, Mannerheim in Finland, Franco in Spain —all these and an assorted job lot of aristocratic mummies, medieval prelates, bureaucratic bigwigs, rotten business men and army chiefs. These are to be, it would seem, the pillars of postwar European society under Anglo-American protection.

As a result of these mistaken policies, the middle-of-the-road groups are threatened with disintegration. But if they disintegrate they will not shift toward the conservative, Anglo-American Right. They will rush toward the communistic, Stalinist Left.

Mr. Bullitt and his "Romans" and "Italians" will be no less responsible than Mr. Churchill if such policies as they appear to follow now, force European democrats and socialists to "go Bolshi." This is what my "Romans" and my "Italians" (Cambridge, Mass.) think. They are not "all the Italians," nor "all the Romans." But they are many more than Mr. Bullitt suspects in his wishful thinking.

"The Romans" and "the Italians" (Cambridge, Mass.) think that in 1941 President Roosevelt made no mistake in sending help to Russia without forcing Stalin to submit to American terms. Stalin had to be rescued, and without delay, not for his own, but for our own, sake. Had Soviet Russia been put out of the way, the turn of Great Britain and then the turn of the United States would have come. The mistake—a big mistake indeed—occurred later, at the beginning of 1942. At that time Russia had overcome the worst of her ordeal, but still needed British and American help, and diplomatic relations had to be permanently readjusted between Russia on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other. At that time, Stalin asked for the Curzon Line as the boundary between Poland and Russia. What he was asking was legitimate and in addition Mr. Roosevelt could not say no. Had he denied Stalin's claim, he might have caused Stalin to break away from us and again come to terms with Hitler. On the other hand, at the beginning of 1942, Stalin had as yet no spectacular success to his credit. Had Great Britain and the United States agreed to the Curzon Line, an atmosphere of mutual confidence would have arisen and most likely it would have been easy to get from Stalin a pledge of disinterestedness in European affairs west of the Curzon Line. Unfortunately, the American government was concerned more than need be with what Mr. Bullitt and his friends in America would say had it accepted the Curzon Line. It thought it wise to postpone that issue. So it missed the boat. When, at the Teheran conference, the matter came again to the fore, Stalin was in a dominant military position. As a consequence he claimed and got more than he had asked for two years earlier.

The mistake was not in granting Stalin too much at the Teheran conference in 1943, but in not having granted what he demanded at the beginning of 1942. For that mistake our government's shilly-shallying methods are no less responsible than the fanatical anti-Soviet blindness of Mr. Bullitt and his Polish and Catholic friends.

Mr. Bullitt also deals with the domestic conditions in Italy. "At the moment," he writes, "no one in Italy is starving." Happy Italy! Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, Chief of the Allied Control Commission's Economic Section, reports that before the war the average Italian consumed about 2,900 calories a day.

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During the months before the entry of Allied troops, the Romans reached an all-time low of 304.50 per day. Since the Allied occupation, they have been allowed 664.77 calories daily. "As things are now, it is officially estimated that the average Italian has lost five to ten pounds of weight. The Italian diet has caused an increase in general and in infant mortality, an increase in the tubercular rate and a general increase in mortality for all diseases" (The New York Times, September 5, 1944). But none of Mr. Bullitt's monied "Romans" or "Italians" is starving. They can buy plenty of good food—from the black market. They do not lose weight. Their babies enjoy perfect health.

Mr. Bullitt's "Romans" and my Cambridge "Romans" fully agree that the Italian economic, financial and political difficulties are tremendous, and that without American and British help they cannot be overcome. They begin to disagree again as soon as Mr. Bullitt states that "the democratic parties which governed Italy before Mussolini have no trained, young leaders." "For twenty-two years, young men who believed in democracy and would not compromise with fascism, had no political careers. . . . A whole generation must be educated in democracy."

Does Mr. Bullitt think that men who for 22 years refused to compromise with fascism still need to be educated in democracy? Let us assume that they were no more than 15 years old when they began to refuse to compromise. That means that they are now about 40 years old, at the height of their intellectual and physical strength. Why should they, during their reëducation, have to leave the government of their country in the hands of elderly men who are from 71 to 85 years old, and who were responsible for the coming of fascism? Is Italy to be consecrated, like China, to the cult of ancestors?

In Sicily, Sardinia and the southern section of the mainland, the parties of the Left, and also many decent people of the Right, are clamoring for local elections. No longer are military operations taking place there. Why are no local elections allowed? When will local elections be held in Naples, Rome or Florence? Why not start reëducation in democracy by local government now—and then pass from local to national government?

My "Romans" (Cambridge, Mass.) surmise that one of the reasons why no local elections are held is that from them an overwhelming majority of republican and socialist town counsellors and mayors would emerge. To Mr. Bullitt's friends this would be a disaster. If they gave him this as a reason for the delay, would he tell us?

Mr. Bullitt thinks that if the joint efforts of the British, American and Italian governments fail to prevent starvation, the Communists will be swept into power on waves of suffering. Therefore, Britain and America must not "pull out prematurely from Italy." He is right. But America and Britain cannot confine themselves to feeding the Italians. A political problem, as well, has to be confronted. Since Stalinist domination must be avoided, what line of policy must Britain and America follow while feeding the Italians? Must they help the middle-of-the-road groups, or must they sell them down the river to the Royal House and its Badoglios? Here is Mr. Bullitt's answer: "There is a permanent factor in Italian life which they [the Stalinists] will find difficult to overcome. It is not the House of Savoy, for King Victor Emmanuel is totally discredited and the Prince Umberto has no popular appeal and can be discarded. It is the Vatican."

Here, at last, we discover the identity of Mr. Bullitt's "Romans" and "Italians." They are Vatican prelates. These gentlemen waxed enthusiastic about Mussolini yesterday. Today they clamor for an Anglo-American military occupation which should last five, ten, as many years as needed, to put them firmly in the saddle. It is they who "know that if the communists should rule Italy, the hand of Moscow would be laid on the Holy Father. The Vicar of Christ would be driven from Rome," but the Italians "will march in defense of the Holy Father as the Crusaders marched."

The "Italians" and the "Romans" of Cambridge, Mass., have been absent from Italy since 1925, whereas Mr. Bullitt went to Italy in 1944. But they were born and educated in Italy. They devoted half a century of study to trying to understand the traditions and the feelings of the different classes of the people in the different sections of Italy. After leaving Italy they remained in touch with the greatest possible number of Italians. Thus it is likely that they know Italy a little better than "experts" fallen from heaven. They agree that if the Stalinists should rule Italy, the Pope would be at a disadvantage. But they also feel sure that if Mr. Bullitt's friends managed to involve the Pope in the hornet's nest of Italian politics, most Italians would become violently anti-clerical, and the consequences of such a blunder would be terrible for everyone, and there would be no Crusaders. If Mr. Bullitt's friends have not forgotten history, they would tell him that in 1870 when the Italians occupied Rome and put an end to that last remnant of the age-old territorial sovereignty of the Pope, not one single Italian finger was raised in support of the Pope, not one single drop of Italian blood was shed on his behalf. Today the Pope would fare no better than he did seventy years ago.

Even if all Romans and all Italians were prepared to obey the Pope politically, which is not at all the case, how would Mr. Bullitt's friends readjust Italo-Vatican political relations? Should the Pope become King of Italy? Or the overlord of a vassal lay King? Who would act as King? Victor Emmanuel? Umberto? Some founder of a new dynasty? Or perhaps, should

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the Pope become "Lord Protector" of an Italian theocratic republic? What are Mr. Bullitt and his friends driving at? How would they solve the problem of inserting the Pope into Italy's political structure?

Before 1870, the Pope could not rule Rome without the permanent presence of a foreign army. Must foreign armies again permanently encamp themselves in Rome—nay, all over Italy—to force the Italians to accept the political authority of the Pope?

Let us hope and pray that America and Britain do not commit themselves to policies which would be pregnant with the most terrible dangers to the Pope himself. Let us hope and pray that those among us who belong to the older generation, before we shut our eyes to the light of day, are not forced to remind Mr. Bullitt's Vatican friends of the old dictum: "Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Latin American Balance Sheet

II. *National Defense in This Hemisphere*

PEARL HARBOR abruptly gave us a new reason for getting very busy in Latin America. When the good-neighbor policy was started in 1933, it snatched as a brand from the burning a huge trade area then desperately needed to put idle hands back to work on our farms and factories. Around 1936 our save-our-necks program turned into frantic fence-building against the Nazi-fascist bid for place as best friend throughout the New World's soft underside. The tempo speeded up in 1939, and after December 7, 1941, Latin America became more important to us than it ever had been before.

Military force is made up of men, plus training, plus equipment. In 1941, the United States stirred out of its dream of miraculous immunity and began to use its vast industrial plant to turn the equipment factor against the Axis. We had enough people, skills and factories to make this decisive. But we also had an Achilles' heel: we do not produce within the continental United States a large number of the raw materials needed to keep our factories running in peacetime, much less all those necessary to fight a great war.

A large number of these, including tin, rubber, vegetable fats and oils, quinine, insecticides, hard woods and hard fibers, were coming to us from across the Pacific. Both Germany and Japan had been calculating war chances for years in terms of raw materials. Their war planners knew what this dangerous dependence on outside sources meant, if our general public did not.

As 1941 ran out, the Russians' backs were pinned against the wall at Moscow. Rommel in Africa had a good chance to slash the life-line through the Suez and the eastern Mediterranean. The Japanese march down through the Southwest Pacific was designed to hamstring our arms production by wresting away raw-materials sources. If Japan could have slowed down our aid to Russia and Britain enough to permit Germany to make the kill, the Axis could have polished us off in due turn. After Pearl Harbor, the defeat of this strategy depended on how fast the United States could overcome the raw-materials disadvantage.

On January 30, 1940, the Army and Navy Munitions Board made up a list of 29 products we must have for war manufacture that are not produced here in quantities large enough for our national protection. They were antimony, chromium, coconut-shell char, ferro-grade manganese, manila fiber, mica, nickel, quartz, crystal, quinine, rubber, silk, tin, tungsten, aluminum, asbestos, cork, graphite, hides, iodine, opium, optical glass, phenol, platinum, tanning materials, toluol, vanadium and wool.

If the United States had appropriated large sums for a big army and navy during the long armistice, if we had fortified heavily in the Pacific or if we had even taken an adequate role in preserving the peace, our national policy of ignorant self-complacency on raw materials would never have caught up with us. Or if we had had the foresight to spend enough money to develop even a relative hemisphere-sufficiency in raw materials—if we'd backed huge rubber plantations in Latin America and accumulated huge stockpiles of many kinds of minerals and metals—Japanese successes in the Pacific would not have caught us so short.

Luckily, we had been closing political ranks against outside attack in the New World. Pearl Harbor brought a third Inter-American consultation at Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, and one of the most important agreements reached there was to get down to producing "in the shortest possible time" an adequate supply of basic and strategic materials.

Many of Latin America's raw materials had been a drug on the market during the depression years, and loss of European markets after 1939 again gave them big unsold surpluses. In late 1940 and 1941, United States buying began to increase as war manufacturing expanded in this country. In 1941 we also began to buy materials to keep them out of enemy hands, and belatedly began stockpiling. In the summer of 1941 we made an agreement with Mexico to purchase surpluses

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of a large number of war supplies. A similar arrangement was made with Brazil.

After the Japanese sweep down through the Pacific revealed to us the size of our war task, the Board of Economic Warfare was told to speed a drive for needed supplies. As the system was worked out, the War Production Board told the BEW what was wanted. The BEW then issued orders to a group of operating agencies, scions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to get these supplies at home and abroad. They include the Defense Supplies Corporation, the Defense Plant Corporation, the Metals Reserve Company, the Rubber Reserve Company, the Rubber Development Company, the Export-Import Bank and the United States Commercial Company.

Theoretically, the BEW did the planning and decided policy for the whole procurement program. Actually, the operating agencies were in a position to alter plans and make policy, and they did so. The Jesse Jones-Henry Wallace feud, a main attraction on the Washington fight card of "theorists" v. "business men," carried down through the program. The "business men" held the strategic advantage of managing expenditures.

Within the framework of agreements between governments, the actual purchases were made through normal trade channels whenever and wherever possible. Established business firms already dealing in the various materials bought, imported and distributed them under the direction of one or other of the government agencies. The government assumed war transportation risks and paid any exceptional freight and insurance costs. The output of needed metals was stimulated by making contracts to buy large amounts.

During 1942 and 1943 this buying started a tremendous treasure hunt in Latin America and its riches began flowing to us as never before. Mexico's copper, lead, antimony, zinc, vanadium, arsenic, fluorspar, bismuth, her small production of manganese, mica, tungsten, tin, cadmium and molybdenum moved to us. The Mexican government's issue of mining licenses went up 500 percent in one year. Cuba's chrome and manganese; Venezuela's oil; Colombia's platinum and oil; Bolivia's tin, tungsten, lead, antimony, wolfram, zinc; Chile's copper, antimony, cobalt, platinum, lead, manganese, mercury, molybdenum, tungsten and zinc were shipped northward along with other metals from Peru and Brazil.

Many other materials besides metals were acutely needed. Contracts have been made assuring United States purchase of increased amounts of Mexican sisal and henequen. The big development project in Haiti has been turned to producing rubber and fibers. Brazil's vegetable oils, Ecuador's balsa for mosquito bombers, Honduran mahogany for PT boats, derris root from Central America, Peruvian and Bolivian cinchona, source of precious quinine—all these we are procuring. We also have made contracts to buy finished goods: canvas from Brazil, processed meats from Uruguay.

The United States has needed a far greater increase in raw-materials production throughout Latin America than could be obtained by issuing contracts to private producers. Some of the increases required outlays too big for private capital to want to handle, and the government itself has gone in to do direct developmental jobs. The most controversial of these is the rubber program. The Amazon Valley, shared by six Latin American nations, is the scene of its most spectacular phase. In the spring of 1942, the anti-Axis powers woke up to find Ceylon, Liberia and Latin America their last remaining sources of natural rubber. Out of a world production of 894,900 long tons of rubber in 1938, Ceylon had produced 49,500 tons, Liberia, 2,000 and Latin America, 18,100. United States imports alone formerly took more than half of the world's yearly production.

Even if we can build plants to make synthetic rubber, some natural rubber is needed for the process. It takes up to seven years to get latex from rubber seedlings. Liberian and Ceylon rubber comes from plantations, which cannot be expanded till the trees reach maturity. In Latin America, however, are millions of wild rubber trees already large enough to tap. Brazil alone had produced as much as 49,000 tons in a peak year before plantation rubber in the East cut the market out from under the Amazon's costlier product.

Several lines of thought influenced government planning agencies to plunge into a huge program for rubber development in the Amazon Valley in 1942. Ceylon was not secure, and loss of this major source would have been a crippling blow. It was not known how long the war might last or how much rubber would be needed to defeat the Germans and the Japanese. Africa was not secure. There was a possibility that the Germans could get into position to attack Latin America itself across the narrow bulge. In this case, the Amazon Basin would have to be the scene of a last-ditch stand to protect the Panama Canal. Finally, a group of Americans within the key agencies saw how war necessity could lay the basis for a great—and profitable—postwar development in the valley. So a big program was mapped.

The first obstacle to large rubber production in the Amazon Valley is lack of population. The development plan finally grew into a full-fledged move to transplant thousands of Brazilians to the valley as colonists. This meant that a huge transportation and supply job had to be done throughout a region bigger than our Mississippi Valley.

By the spring of 1943 it became painfully apparent, first, that it was going to take more time and money to finish the job than had been dreamed of at the beginning; second, the threat to Ceylon and Latin America was fading; and third, that people in the United States

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were beginning to get very inquisitive about the whys and wherefores of so much spending.

The "business men," who had sparked the development program in their war and postwar zeal, began to run for cover. Streamlining became the order of the day in the Amazon Valley. A feeble attempt was made to throw responsibility for the whole enterprise on the "theorists." But the fact remains that it was the half-completed river and air-transportation plan that proved so costly, rather than a food and medicine-supply program the "theorists" insisted on for the protection of the colonists.

The official total for all purchases, loans and developmental work to get tree rubber out of Latin America up to January 1, 1944, is set at $78 million. This includes the purchase price of a million pounds of rubber bought since 1941. It has been pointed out that if all costs were charged off now, our Latin American latex would have cost us about 82 cents a pound. Rubber production for 1943 is officially reported to be well over 100 percent of the 1942 output. The spread of costs over coming years will reduce the final price per pound of our Amazon Valley war rubber.

United States money has backed two big mining expansions. The Defense Plant Corporation agreed to put $32,800,000 into developing Cuban properties of the Nicaro Nickel Company, a subsidiary of an American concern, the Freeport Sulphur Company. The Nicaro Nickel Company will operate the plan for 10 years for the account of the Metals Reserve Company. At the end of that time, they will either buy the properties or turn the title back to the Defense Plant Corporation. The option to buy is set at cost less depreciation, final figures not to come to less than 36⅔ percent of the original amount.

Under a similar agreement, the Defense Plant Corporation has put $4 million into facilities operated by the Vanadium Corporation of America in Peru. At the end of ten years, the Vanadium Corporation may buy the plant at cost plus interest, less annual fees or cost less depreciation, whichever is highest.

The United States has bought raw materials in Latin America to stabilize dangerous economic situations. We agreed to do this as part of our politico-economic defense of the hemisphere. Brazil agreed to let minerals have first shipping priority and, in a separate agreement, we promised to buy unshippable coffee surplus. Brazilian coffee growers have preferred to hold their surplus coffee rather than sell to our government at prevailing prices and we have had to buy very little coffee. Government purchases of Brazilian cacao beans, Uruguayan wool, Cuban sugar and Peruvian and Nicaraguan cotton have been made. A slight loss has been involved in the sugar transaction, but United States consumers have been saved a great deal of money, since the over-all purchase arrangement has held down sugar prices. Very little cotton had to be bought under the Peruvian agreement. Nicaragua's cotton has been sold at a profit.

Through December 31, 1943, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiaries report spending $1,001,361,060 for war purchases in Latin America. Commitments to buy during several years to come total roughly another billion dollars. This spending for war supplies is at the rate of less than a half-billion dollars a year. It should be remembered that in peacetime we imported as much as half a billion dollars' worth of materials a year from Latin America. Simultaneously, huge sums were going for Eastern products.

Thus it can be seen that the cost of our supplemental raw materials is not excessive in comparison with full-capacity consumption costs in the past. On the whole, our war commitments in Latin America have been made on the basis of values rising but not yet skyrocketing from deflation levels. Prices of course are higher than they were when Latin America's warehouses were bursting with unsalable stocks. The United States Government's status as sole buyer has kept prices from going up as they otherwise certainly would have. The pinch comes from the fact that, instead of going into commerce and productive economic activities, these expenditures have been made for war materials and must eventually be paid for out of the taxpayers' pocket.

It is important to remember that a great deal of our war-buying in Latin America is from American-owned enterprises. United States capital is deeply involved in the sugar industry in Cuba, in Peruvian cotton. The United States is far and away the first investing nation in Latin America. A tremendous amount of our business in Latin American raw materials is really business with ourselves, as well as business for ourselves.

Second, it should not be overlooked that the money that has gone for Latin American raw materials has for the most part been spent for United States products, or will be spent for them. Latin America's favorable balance at the present is around $2 billion. This will give her a healthy cushion during the period when the area has to switch away from war production. It will also provide an opportunity for us to sell goods to Latin America after the war—an important guarantee against a too sudden shrinkage in our production.

From an economic point of view, it is better that we have to buy part of our war materials outside our borders. Our inflation problem is serious enough. If we had had the pressure of all our war buying within our economy, the strain on it would have been much greater. A final advantage is that our war buying in Latin America is carrying important customers through a period in which they cannot sell in other parts of the world. All this adds up to a political as well as an economic plus for this country. VIRGINIA PREWETT

This is the second in a series of articles. The third will appear in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

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Washington Notes

Back in the Groove

THE ROOSEVELT SPEECH of last Saturday was given to the press at 7 p.m. As reporters skimmed through the advance, shouts of glee and excited exclamations of enjoyment went up and were called from typewriter to typewriter. "Have you got to that part about Fala?" somebody would cry. "Yes—but did you see what he says about John L. Lewis?" The feeling was best summed up by a correspondent who has followed the President since his first swing around the circle—"He's back in the old 1932 groove."

The question was, would he put it over? As I write this I am just back from the ballroom of the Statler Hotel. The last member of Dan Tobin's brotherhood whom I saw was battering a tablespoon against a silver-plated cake-holder in an ecstasy of enjoyment.

The interesting thing about Mr. Roosevelt is the pleasure he himself seems to get out of these affairs. I have watched him give speeches now for 12 years and I never saw him enjoy one more than this. It was the Old Maestro himself, past master of the various platform arts of which perhaps, when all is said and done, laughter is as effective as any. There have been few politicians in America who have been sure enough of themselves to use laughter and keep their dignity, and Mr. Roosevelt is one of them; and here he used humor against a humorless opponent, which made the contrast all the more striking.

From where I was, just beneath Mr. Roosevelt, it was fun to look up and see him put over a special bit. His face would become dead-pan, he would catch the right degree of emphasis (often interpolating a word or two), he would lead into his gag line, time it just right, and then come out with it with inexpressible drollery and relish, as when he answered Representative Knutson's absurd charge about Fala: "I think I have a right to object to libelous statements about my dog!"

Well, well, this has little to do with the solemn matters of the day, but one has to admit that campaigning with Mr. Roosevelt is fun. And Republicans who charged that the Bremerton address was "political" ought to be able to tell the difference between a Roosevelt political and non-political speech, after this.

The anxious observer of national affairs finds considerable danger in all this electioneering and must constantly ask himself how much bitterness it will leave, and what effect it will have on the nonpartisan American cooperation which is so vital when the campaign is ended. The lines of the forthcoming Senate struggle over League of Nations No. Two, for example, are already appearing. Make no doubt about it, isolationism has not disappeared; it has merely been transformed into "nationalism" and the double line of attack on the Dumbarton Oaks international-security agency is already pretty clear. In the first place, the Senate's Wheelers, Bushfields, Bridges, et al., will object to having the nation join any league until the main body of the peace settlement is written and approved. The latter, as Senators Ball and Burton have pointed out, cannot possibly please everybody. Suppose some Senator demands that India be freed and this is not included in the world settlement—then will he argue that America shall not join a new league on that account? The second line of attack will be to seek to delay permission for America to answer the international fire-alarm, if a new military conflagration is threatened by some aggressor, until a formal debate has been held and a vote taken. Germany crushed Poland in 26 days, and such a Senate debate might be protracted by isolationists for three months.

What particularly impresses this writer is the shortness of notice the next war is going to give. I have seen the robot bombs flaming in the sky over London, and felt the earth shake when they hit near me. War, my friends, has been utterly transformed. I do not see how this can be too much stressed. After, say, about ten years—if what may be man's last chance at setting up a workable league fails—emplacements for robot bombs may be set up all over Europe, bombs of new and deadlier varieties, pointed across international boundaries at all the principal cities of the Continent. The next war will be fought by automata. And when war comes, it will not be by diplomatic formalities; somebody will just press a button and all the opposing cities will go up in the air at once—whoosh! This is not a nightmare: the robot bomb is here, and has come to stay.

Professor C. Herman Pritchett, of the University of Chicago, has brought down to date his periodic studies of the Supreme Court trends. Incidentally, the American Bar Association has just shelved the proposed resolution censuring the high court for alleged New Dealish tendencies. The Court is certainly divided, but it is hard to find any very clear direction. For the first time in history the number of non-unanimous findings, in the 1943-44 terms, was larger than the cases in which the Justices were in agreement. In the confused pattern Justices Black and Douglas, frequently joined by Murphy and Rutledge, seem to be the new "left" wing; Roberts and Frankfurter, often joined by Stone and Reed, seem to be on the other side, with Jackson tending to the latter group. Roberts is the most conservative member and set down 13 dissents which no other member supported.

Miscellaneous: Only the strongest kind of public protest will prevent the Senate when it reconvenes from adopting the majority report of its Judiciary Committee (as the House has done) exempting insurance companies, which hold much of the nation's invested wealth, from federal regulation. Mr. Roosevelt would veto such a measure; Mr. Dewey almost certainly wouldn't. . . . This column learns, on what it believes reliable authority, that Winston Churchill had a touch of pneumonia on his recent passage to Quebec and that his acknowledged illness was not seasickness, as some reporters interpreted it. . . . Poor Westbrook Pegler found Mr. Dewey's conversion to the Wagner Act distasteful; Peg is now understood to regard Dewey as a dangerous radical. . . . Some of Mr. Dewey's military counsel has been coming from General Hugh A. Drum (retired), who was passed over for promotion for chief of staff in 1939 in favor of General Marshall.

Washington T. R. B.

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Two Communications

The Longo Case Again

SIR: I have read the article, "Longo, Biddle and Hague," in the August 21, 1944, issue of The New Republic. The author, Willard Wiener, although he claims to base his conclusions upon what he calls "an analysis of all the facts," has never communicated with me to find out what evidence was in the possession of the Department of Justice, nor what the investigation of the FBI showed; nor do I find that he sought any information from anyone else in the Department who worked on the case. And yet he accuses me of "tortuous twistings of fact" in my statement in a letter to Governor Edison in which I reported the results of the investigation. This charge is entirely untrue and there is substantially no attempt to support it even in the article itself. Mr. Wiener states that I "went through the motions of investigating the case." If Mr. Wiener had taken the pains to ascertain, he would have discovered that, under a direction from me that there be a thorough investigation of the case, the FBI interviewed 31 persons, over a period of 25 days. The reports obtained covered a total of 195 pages.

Mr. Wiener suggests that I personally may not have looked into the case "but merely signed a statement prepared by someone else." Again, had he taken the trouble to inquire, he would have learned that I personally examined many of the investigative reports and discussed the case at great length and in detail with the attorneys who had done the preliminary work. By his unsupported and unwarranted statements, Mr. Wiener not only attacks me personally but leaves an unmerited slur on the lawyers of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, whose work has been outstanding in this field.

I shall now take up certain specific statements in the Wiener article.

Mr. Wiener states that Longo was asked by FBI agents whether he knew any Communists in Jersey City; what labor leaders in Jersey City were Communists; and who got the CIO to back him in this case. The two agents who talked to Longo have been interviewed, and they deny having asked him these questions or anything of the sort. This is simply a direct misstatement of fact which Mr. Wiener did not take the trouble to check.

Mr. Wiener refers to my statement that Longo was questioned by Department of Justice agents in the presence of his counsel, and adds that counsel denies this is so. I find that the information which I had received on this point was inaccurate. Longo was alone at the time he was interviewed. I find no basis, however, for the charge that there was any refusal to permit counsel to be present, or to examine a summary of the statement which Longo made to Department agents. The fact is that Mr. Chasan, counsel for Longo, stated to Bureau agents that he could fully understand that agents would prefer to interview Longo alone. Longo was told that as soon as the statement was ready he would be permitted to examine it and approve it, although he had previously said he would not sign it. Four days later, Mr. Chasan telephoned to a special agent of the FBI that after discussing the interview with Longo, he had decided to advise Longo not to sign the statement. Longo did not avail himself of the opportunity to examine and, if necessary, correct the statement, although agents of the FBI sought to have him do so.

Mr. Wiener calls the trial a farce and seeks to sustain this charge by asserting that Attorney Lichtenstein "agreed to represent Longo if the court would permit a reasonable postponement of two or three days, long enough for Lichtenstein to acquaint himself with the facts of the case" and that the presiding judge refused this postponement and ordered Longo to trial. The inferences to be drawn from this bare statement are obvious. However, the printed record of the trial at pages 73-101 of the State of Case, signed by counsel for Longo and for the State, and filed in the New Jersey Supreme Court, shows what actually happened in connection with the request for postponement and how utterly unfair and misleading is Mr. Wiener's brief reference to the incident. It will show that there were five postponements. In connection with one, Longo has since admitted that he "deliberately entered this hospital in order to delay the trial." The case came on for trial on November 15, 1943. The prosecution's witnesses were present; Mr. Chasan announced that he would not continue to represent Longo; Lichtenstein was present and willing to do so, but said he would require two weeks in which to familiarize himself with the case; a further postponement was requested for that purpose, which was denied by the judge, who then ordered each of them to defend Longo in the trial; each declined; after the judge insisted that Chasan remain in the case, Longo himself told the court that he would prefer to have Chasan withdraw from the case; and the court then ordered the trial to proceed.

Mr. Wiener says that "Hague's prosecutor had employed the services of a handwriting expert who had examined the record but had failed to find any evidence that it had been altered, as charged." Mr. Wiener fails to add, however, that the expert's report was inconclusive with respect to the alleged alteration by Longo of "Rep." to "Dem." As a matter of fact, the report deals only with the second alteration, with which Longo was not charged. As it proved nothing, the prosecutor did not put it in evidence. What is more, Wiener forgets to mention, as I said in my letter to Governor Edison, that Longo and Longo's lawyer knew of the contents of the report, but did not put it in evidence.

I have not intended in this letter to go into a detailed justification of the conclusions which I have reached and announced in this case. Nothing has since come to my attention which has done other than to sustain that decision. I do, however, express my surprise that one who professes to champion the right of fair trial should content himself with an inaccurate, incomplete and one-sided "analysis of all the facts" without so much as talking to the person against whom his charges and conclusions are directed or attempting to obtain and verify or disprove the information upon which the criticized decision rests.

I enclose a copy of my letter to Governor Edison.

If you are interested in a genuine and thorough inquiry into the Department's part in the case, you will find me ready to coöperate with you fully. In the meantime, how-

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ever, I hope that you will publish this letter in your next issue lest failure to challenge the article give undeserved support to its claim for reliability.

FRANCIS BIDDLE,
Washington, D. C. Attorney General of the United States

SIR: The Attorney General's explanation, while long, explains little. He skirts the heart of the Longo case: that a man stands convicted and faces a jail sentence for a crime which it seems perfectly clear that he could not and did not commit, with ample evidence that his conviction was procured by political enemies who sought to silence him. Mr. Biddle's letter likewise seeks to justify his public report, the very release of which was odd, in view of his own statement to Governor Edison that he considered it improper to make it public while the case was still on appeal.

I said, and now repeat, that the handwriting expert's report, prepared at the request of Hague's prosecutor, was suppressed from the grand jury and from the trial jury because on its face it was convincing evidence of Longo's innocence. The report was supported by photographic exhibits, likewise withheld. The jury, as judge of the facts, was entitled to the benefit of this evidence.

The Attorney General's explanation contains an admission that on one point he himself was inaccurate. That admission is interesting in the light of the fact that this is not the first occasion on which he has been inaccurate. There is another case in which he, as Attorney General, was asked to intervene in behalf of a citizen claiming persecution by the Hague machine. In the matter of Leo Rosenblum, president of the Hudson County Tax Board, whose case is another instance of the wholesale violation of civil rights, Mr. Biddle intervened in the court proceedings. In so doing he submitted a document to the court in which he said that certain statements complained of by Rosenblum had been made in court in Rosenblum's presence. The fact was, the statements were never made in Rosenblum's presence, in court or anywhere else. Mr. Biddle might have established this fact, and saved himself the inaccuracy, merely by inquiring of the court, as I did, and learning the facts. Mr. Biddle later substituted a page in his official memorandum in which the inaccuracy was deleted.

The Attorney General complains because he wasn't consulted "to find out what evidence was in the possession of the Department of Justice." The original article in The New Republic was a criticism of Mr. Biddle's conclusions on the case as contained in his public statement and as distinguished from anything that may have been in the records of the Department of Justice, a distinction emphasized by Mr. Biddle's own admission of inaccuracy. I may add, however, that while a member of the staff of the newspaper PM and engaged in an investigation of the Longo case, I sought on several occasions to discuss the violation of civil rights involved with Mr. Biddle, but was never accorded the opportunity.

If the Attorney General desires to make a thorough inquiry into the denial of civil rights in Hudson County, members of the City Affairs Committee of Jersey City, which months ago petitioned Mr. Biddle to act, will be glad to meet with him and submit personally to him additional documentary evidence, copies of which I have seen.

New York City WILLARD WIENER

The Bandwagon

The House Committee on Campaign Expenditures called Sidney Hillman before it a few days ago, to tell about all that money Hillman's Political Action Committee (CIO) has been throwing around in primary elections. . . . Among the many matters touched on in his statement, Hillman disavowed any connection with the Communists in this country. That may be true technically. But Hillman is at least a fellow traveler, in that he and the Communists both want Mr. Roosevelt to have a fourth term. – *An editorial in The New York Sunday News.*

SOCIALIZED RAILROADS NEAR IF PUBLIC
DOES NOT GET REALISTIC
– *Headline in Railway Age magazine.*

Charles Bickford, who played the Dean of Lourdes in "Song of Bernadette," has been presented with a scroll from the Salvation Army for his contribution to the propagation of religion. – *From Movie Show.*

What the common sense of the country really wants is a little old-fashioned prosperity, with a lot of jobs. It wants, besides, to increase present unemployment benefits.

Why in the name of common sense, can't the administration agree to a bill to do these necessary things without bringing in permanent policies of socialization and a thoroughly totalitarian concept like "full employment"? – *Raymond Moley in his syndicated column.*

Ford said he had not followed the world monetary conference at Bretton Woods but that he always had favored a universal currency. "That currency," he added, "should be our own dollar." – *From The Atlanta Journal.*

Tom Y. Chan, 63, Chinese-American, who was a business leader in Chicago's Chinatown for 37 years and who, since 1941, had been a member of China's People's Political Council by appointment of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, will not be buried beside his first wife in Rosehill Cemetery. John Bercoe, manager of Rosehill, said today, "We cater to white people only and have for the past 24 years." – *From The Chicago Daily News.*

GERTRUDE STEIN SAFE IN FRANCE WITH NEW BOOK
She Finds This War More Interesting Than the Last
and Far More Logical
– *Head and subhead in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Dawn Over Dixie

"Back in Mississippi we figured that a good mule represented a sizable investment," Anderson [general manager of The Orlando Sentinel-Star] said. "We always provide a good barn for them. We should do even better for our negro citizens." – *From The Miami Herald.*

You Wouldn't Mean Roosevelt, Would You?

The hefty, pugnacious miner [John L. Lewis] who has high-pressured every President since Herbert Hoover. . . . – *Louis Stark in The New York Times.*

Total-War Department

Included in a group of 75 Wac recruits who left for Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, where they are to go into recruit training, were two Roseland young men. – *From The Calumet (Ill.) Index.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLL.
BEREA, OHIO
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Correspondence

Progressives, Unite!

SIR: We have read the letter signed by S. M. which appeared in Correspondence in your September 11 issue, and wish to say that the suggestions made by S. M. strike us as a good idea. [S. M. suggested a non-partisan organization of progressives, among them the writers of this letter.—THE EDITORS]

We agree that it is vital that following the November elections there should be held "a congress of all forces which, in one way or another, are committed to the thesis that the world was created for all men to live the good life." We are willing to use the mediums of communication at our disposal to assist in the calling of such a congress, the composition of which should be as varied, or even more varied, than suggested by S. M. in his letter to you.

FRANK KINGDON
New York City JOHANNES STEEL

A Sour View of Good-Neighborism

SIR: Many Latin Americans are wondering if the good-neighbor policy is being abandoned. A cornerstone of the good-neighbor policy is surely non-intervention in the question of what kind of government a country shall have, even though your country may not like a given government. In this connection it must be remembered that in several Latin American countries, governments can change only by revolution, established governments can nearly always control the elections, and under existing conditions revolution is an essential democratic process.

Twice in 1944 you have unsuccessfully intervened in an effort to change Latin American governments. In Bolivia you refused to recognize the new revolutionary government which was actually more progressive and friendly to democracy than the Peñaranda regime. Your State Department claimed they were Nazis, inspired from Argentina, but has never made public adequate evidence to this effect. The new government asked how they could coöperate but you wouldn't tell them. That would be "intervention." After six months, pressure from the other republics forced the recognition of Bolivia and then, when the MNR won the election, the Bolivian government was criticized for letting them win.

In Argentina you intervened by refusing to recognize a government in being and in power. You demand that various actions be taken against German interests, though these steps are largely of moral value, with little practical bearing on the outcome of the war. You employ threats of economic sanctions and boycotts if the government doesn't change its attitude, but you apparently have no intention of putting such sanctions into effect.

The republics near Argentina see this intervention as an effort by the United States to prove that it is more powerful than Argentina and that Argentina must do what you want her to. Argentinian prestige is thus at stake. Therefore many Argentine opposition groups come to the support of their government.

You will lose this contest and Argentina will win. It is too late, with the end of the war so near, for economic sanctions to be effective. The only result of your effort will be to increase the strength and prestige of Argentina at the expense of the United States, and to convince Latin Americans that the good-neighbor policy is dead.

New York City X. Y. Z.

Why Not a Single Income Tax?

SIR: As all taxes are paid from income, why is it necessary that more than one tax be paid? Why should taxes be levied on food, clothing, tobacco, gasoline, amusements, property, land, etc., each requiring a system of collection by itself, when a single graduated tax on income, individual and corporate, could collect the same revenue at a greatly reduced collection cost?

Generally considered, and with land excepted, everyone pays the same tax on the above commodities, regardless of his ability to pay. Under a single-income-tax system, the burden of supplying governmental revenues would be levied more equitably.

New York City PRTR, 2/C E. A. W.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mrs. I. E. Thompson, of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, writes objecting to the view of the Germans presented in the articles by H. N. Brailsford on "What to Do with Germany" [The New Republic, July 10, July 17 and July 24] and in the review by Heinz H. F. Eulau of Otto Nathan's book, "The Nazi Economic System" [The New Republic, August 21]. Mrs. Thompson says the fact that the German people are responsible for the Nazi crimes is proved by the French example of resistance to tyranny. "It is not necessary to submit," she maintains. Mrs. Thompson also objects to Bruce Bliven's optimism in "The Liberals after Chicago" [The New Republic, August 7]—domestic politics are getting worse and not better, she says.

Praise of Vice President Henry Wallace is the subject of a letter from Charlotte K. Krall, of Morrisville, Pennsylvania. "We now have a statesman on the national scene," she says, "who is capable of taking the leadership in uniting all liberals . . . [provided] the liberal, labor and farmer forces and press will support him from the grass-roots."

Michigan readers of The New Republic are urged to get in touch with I. Pokempner, 206 East Grand River Avenue, Detroit 26, who is organizing a Michigan Committee for Roosevelt, and needs the support of liberals in forming this citizens' political-action group.

The John Day Company announces that some time in the spring of 1945 it plans to publish "The War Poets: An Anthology of the Best War Poetry of the Twentieth Century written in the English language." The editor, Oscar Williams, is interested in receiving as soon as possible poetry written by the men in the services, British, American, Canadian, Australian, etc. The Waves, Wacs and Spars are also invited to submit manuscripts, either of published or unpublished work. Manuscripts mailed from the continental United States should contain a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Address, Oscar Williams, care of The John Day Company, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17, N. Y.

The East and West Association will sponsor a series of ten programs, entitled "The People's Congress," at Town Hall, New York City, beginning October 18. Prominent speakers will discuss questions of national interest, chosen through a poll conducted by the association among its members, teachers and librarians, newspaper and magazine editors and radio-program managers. Among the topics will be the aspirations of Eastern and Western peoples, including the Chinese, Indians, Russians, Japanese, Africans and Filipinos.

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Books in Review

The Essence of Modern War

A NUMBER OF AMERICANS have sat as students at the feet of the Chinese revolution and learned what their own country failed to teach them: the nature of human society, including feudalism, capitalism and imperialism, and the depths of cruelty to which men will descend to accumulate wealth. One of the best known Americans who has passed through such training is Edgar Snow, whose new book, "People on Our Side,"[1] is dedicated to another, Lieutenant-Colonel Evans F. Carlson of the United States Marines, now lying wounded in San Diego, California. A third is Jack Belden who, while recovering from wounds incurred at Salerno, prepared his second book, "Still Time to Die."[2]

Snow and Belden both came out of the American depression and faced a world that had no use or place for them. Both beat or worked their way to China and other parts of the Far East. Snow remained abroad for twelve years, Belden for nine, most of his time in China. Snow identified himself closely with Chinese revolutionary developments, Belden was drawn to the Chinese battlefields, primarily the nationalist armies, from the first battle of the Japanese invasion of China proper on July 7, 1937. In many ways, Snow and Belden, and a number of others, can be called China's contribution to the world today. It is a fine contribution of which both China and America can be proud.

Belden's first book, "Retreat with Stilwell," remains one of the most valuable war books, and the only one that explains the imperialist reasons for the fall of Burma to the Japanese. His new book, "Still Time to Die," covers eight battles from Chinese, British and American battlefields, with an angry and passionate Epilogue—a testament of his convictions. In addition there is an introductory chapter without which the rest of the book cannot be fully understood.

"Still Time to Die" is not merely about the way men and women act and speak on or near the battlefield, though this is a part of it, in fact the meat of it. As Belden himself says, it is primarily about "the essence of war," about himself in the midst of battle; and it is about this whole sorry scheme of things which we dignify by the name of civilization.

All the chapters are permeated with anguish and torment not only of men and women at war, but of Belden's own spirit. There are moments of grim humor and there are soldiers' conversations that will petrify Aunt Abigail up in Boston but without which war would be prettified. A few of the chapters are good reporting, some are excellent, and still others are superb writing. As teacher, Belden chose Tolstoy—and no better teacher could any man choose—and Tolstoy's influence hovers over many of the pages. Each chapter is prefaced by quotations from Tolstoy or from General Karl von Clausewitz's "On War," that classic in the philosophy and strategy of war which has influenced all "civilized" armies for the past hundred years.

In all the battlefield accounts, the reader goes right onto the field with the author and sees, hears, smells and feels the confusion, horrifying uncertainty, cruelty and panic of battle. Only one other war book—Voyetekhov's "The Last Days of Sevastopol"—has fully caught this essence of modern war. Of all Belden's chapters, three stand out in this reviewer's mind as marking him as one of our most important future writers. Two of these are among the three Chinese stories, and the other is the American landing at Salerno. The Chinese chapters cover the battle for Hsuchow, the retreat from Hsuchow and the battle of the Yellow River in 1938—mere fragments of Belden's vast Chinese experiences.

The retreat of 300,000 Chinese soldiers through encircling Japanese lines around Hsuchow is a military and literary epic. The author took part in this retreat—which was planned by the cool-headed General Li Chung-jen—and has given us one of the most remarkable pictures yet to come out of this war. The battle of the Yellow River, shortly afterwards, lasted for about a week and in it one gets every detail of men facing what seemed certain destruction, but which turned out otherwise. In the midst of Japanese bombardment and clouds of flying sand, one whole Chinese division is seen in panic, trampling under foot another division of young, green boys who had not yet fought and therefore had not yet learned fear. In the midst of such events, an insane peasant runs rings around a tree, the bodies of raped and murdered Chinese girls lie as the Japanese left them, and a quiet Chinese general bides his time before blowing up the Yellow River dikes to halt the approaching enemy.

The American landing at Salerno, Italy, is the third superb piece of writing. Belden was wounded in this landing. Though helpless on the battlefield, he closely watched the conduct of soldiers about him, and later used his observations in a distillation of "the essence of war" in his introductory chapter.

This introductory chapter is the first analysis of "the essence of war" to be attempted by any American correspondent. Drawing on von Clausewitz's methods of analyzing the factors that play a role on the battlefield, Belden here discusses uncertainty, falsehood, friction, exertion, courage, resolution, brotherhood, loneliness and destruction, all of which are a part of war. He adds sex, emphasizes loneliness, and answers those critics who think he overemphasizes sex.

Belden writes powerfully and fearlessly about Allied leaders—among them the Chiang-Soong-Kung families and their set-up in China—as well as American Senators, politicians, newspaper editors, generals and other imitators and appeasers of fascism in Africa, Italy and the United States. American soldiers, he rightly declares, don't know

[1] People on Our Side, by Edgar Snow. New York: Random House. 324 pages. $3.50.

[2] Still Time to Die, by Jack Belden. New York: Harper and Brothers. 322 pages. $3.

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why they are fighting, and not one in a hundred has any political convictions whatever—which accounts for widespread neurosis in our armed forces.

Invalided home for a few months, Belden's clear, observant eyes saw the main political developments on the American home front. He was amazed at the loud, bold, repellent manifestations here of that fascism which we are supposed to be fighting in Europe and the Far East. In his Epilogue he declares war on this growing menace. American business men, bankers, politicians and some generals, he states, are no different from their prototypes in other countries, "and they do not give two cents for the people." To all such men in every country his book is a fierce, angry challenge.

In his new book, Edgar Snow gives a swift, comprehensive account of the "people on our side"—that is, the progressive democratic forces—in India, Russia and China, with brief glimpses at the Outer Mongols, the Burmese and a few others. These he balances against the forces that are trying to twist this war into an instrument for their continued wealth and power. It is a warm, human book on the whole, sometimes written with great tenderness. The sixty-one short, graphic chapters are packed with fact and information or with deeply moving stories of individuals. The facts are wrapped up in a flowing style that is easy to follow. In addition, Snow has a sparkling wit, a quiet charm, and makes devastating use of satire and irony.

The British, who are such decent people in their own country, are pictured as donning the trappings of colonialism in India and practising the same super-racism preached by Hitler. In the analysis of the conflict between the British and the Indian National Congress, Gandhi is called a "stubborn and honorable old saint" without the slightest knowledge of fascism. One Indian opponent of Gandhi is quoted as admitting that "India has had its back straightened by Gandhi."

The Indian caste system, with its inhuman untouchability, comes in for a well deserved trouncing, yet Snow likens it to the British treatment of Indians in their own country, and to the American caste system with regard to the Negro. He was denied entrance to a restaurant in Bombay because his guest was an Indian, but remarks that he could have taken his dog inside if his dog had not been in Connecticut.

All the clever tricks used by the British to divide the Indians among themselves and to keep the country industrially backward are frankly discussed, and we get precious pictures of fat, diamond-bedecked Princes, quislings of the British, who refuse to allow their peasants to learn to read and write lest they all become lawyers! In a conversation with Jawaharlal Nehru, the Jefferson of Asia and one of the few great living men—now serving his eighth term in a British prison—we get a revealing picture of British mentality, even of such advanced men as Sir Stafford Cripps. Nehru is speaking:

> He [Cripps] amazed me. Apparently he never believed me when I said in the past that we wanted complete independence. Now when it came down to it and he saw we were in earnest he was hurt and surprised when I spoke of matters formerly taken for granted between us. "You don't mean you really want to break away from us entirely, do you?" he asked me. Think of it! After all I've said and written, and after all Cripps himself has written!

But the major part of this book is a study of almost every aspect of Soviet Russia, where Snow spent seven months in 1943. Here we learn not only about soldiers and officers, workers and great industrial plants, but also about the price of food, family budgets, the black market, cooperative farms, future five-year plans, women fliers and housewives, marriage and divorce, new national plans for education, the Polish and Baltic and other historical problems, with a comprehensive comparison of the Soviet and American Constitutions included. Snow refutes certain American wishful thinking: that Russia is abandoning socialism and is going back to the exploitation of man by man. Representatives of the Mongolian People's Republic discussed with him their plans for a future independent federated state of all Mongols.

The account of the battle for Stalingrad that broke the back of the Nazis is the finest and most exhaustive yet to appear in English. We see captive Rumanian and Nazi soldiers, generals and marshals and read official Nazi orders to destroy all Slavs. Some conception of Russia's sacrifices and the depth of her grief are indicated in statistics of Red Army losses: six million men killed or missing in battle; three million incapacitated for life; six to seven million wounded. Apart from these sixteen millions, there remain the millions of unarmed civilian women, children and aged who were slaughtered or driven into slavery in Germany. The names of great cities wholly or partly destroyed are given and compared with American cities. Snow says that the Nazis would have poisoned the very earth of Russia had they been able to.

These figures will never move the American mind as do the stories of women and children who miraculously escaped death at Nazi hands. Often the women and children did not wish to remember, but when they did speak, the stories they tell take one to the end of the night. In writing them, Snow's words become tender and caressing. One such story is of an emaciated little girl of eleven who looked forty.

Snow once watched the burial of hundreds of young Red Army soldiers in a mass grave. He suddenly breaks off the account to relate a dream he had the night before. This dream is pure lyrical poetry. Other passages are of equal beauty, and one sometimes regrets that this writer has been forced to earn his bread as a journalist.

The Russians are beyond tears, and Snow writes powerfully of their faith and conviction that they are waging a war of human liberation. Even behind the Nazi steel wall, they believe they will find Germans who will help them. They have never forgotten that before the Revolution they also had their pogromists and their "Black Hundreds."

Fewer than fifty pages in the volume are devoted to China, but they are packed with the most up-to-date information. The democratic upheaval of the first two years of China's war of liberation has since given way to the present reaction, chaos and war-profiteering in which Snow says the highest officials of the government, and their offspring, participate. Of Generalissimo Chiang's feudal-absolutist book, "China's Destiny," he writes:

> The Generalissimo himself now officially ranks as the foremost banker of China. With his immensely rich brother-in-law and sister-in-law, Dr. and Mme. H. H. Kung, and their children, and the wealthy Mme. Chiang Soong Mei-ling, and her brothers,

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he holds the key positions in all private and government finance groups. Incidentally, as far as is publicly known, no member of the Chiang-Kung-Soong family has ever filed a personal income-tax report.

There is a comprehensive account of developments in the guerrilla (partisan) regions of north and east China, over which the Chinese Communists retain the leadership. Snow quotes reports of a number of Britons and Americans who have lived in and traveled through those regions since Pearl Harbor, and concludes by saying that the system there

> constitutes the closest approach to political, economic and social democracy that the Chinese have ever known. They have a system of government in which squeeze and corruption are so rare that it . . . refutes widespread beliefs . . . that the Chinese are incapable of running an honest government.

Every informed American should read the last chapter. Among other things, Snow warns us that the Japanese have the strength and ability to conquer all southwestern and western China. If they succeed, he says, the Eighteenth Group Army (Communist-commanded) would rapidly spread all over occupied China, introducing the same warfare and democratic system that prevails in the regions already protected by them. He urges the Allied nations to help the Eighteenth Group Army as they help its prototype, Marshal Tito's Yugoslav government and the Army of National Liberation.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Not All New, Some Good

New Poems: 1944. Edited by Oscar Williams. New York: Howell, Soskin. 330 pages. $3.

A COLLECTION OF ANY ART for a given year always provides an absorbing critical exercise: a chance to compare the development of varying talents, and to feel what fresh winds are blowing. But, unfortunately, Oscar Williams' anthology does not altogether live up to its title. The first poems in the volume, those by Conrad Aiken, date back to 1931, though there is no acknowledgment of that fact or of several other departures of the same sort. Moreover, the book has been thrown together carelessly. There are an unnecessary number of misprints, the biographical notes are written in an absurd telegraphese, and those for eight of the poets are omitted entirely.

The book still has much to offer, if hardly the interest that the editor attributes to the special section of "Poems from the Armed Forces." Of many of the sixteen British and twelve American poets thus included, it must simply be said that unless they were in uniform, they would not be in an anthology. They express honest tributes to the Soviet Union, well deserved scorn for civilian advertisers and some robust soldier humor. But the poems of one British officer, already killed in action, raise most of the old problems of war poetry. To the editor these poems speak of "a major talent." To my reading they are outpourings of raw emotion, poignantly unaffected, but without even rudimentary control of adequate words, or the discipline of form. None of these British poets would seem to give promise of being up to the level of, say, Day Lewis. The best are accurate seismographs, as when Roy Fuller asks, in "Solil-

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—STERLING NORTH, N. Y. Post

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HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

ACCURATE EVALUATION of character, personality, capacities from handwriting by psychologist. Alfred Reiss, Ph. D., 680 Ft. Washington Ave., N. Y. C. 33.

oquy in an Air-Raid," "And who can speak/And still retain the tones of this civilization?" or when Julian Symons says, "These events are intelligible. Interpret. You cannot enjoy."

Among the American soldier poets there are a few from the generation over thirty, such as Richard Eberhart and Selden Rodman, who make quiet recordings of their experiences. Randall Jarrell shows a new maturity in "The Soldier Walks under the Trees of the University." There is also a group of young sophisticates, William Abrahams, Howard Nemerov, and their leader Dunstan Thompson, a cut-glass poet of accomplished technique, a terrifyingly frigid manipulator of his feelings. Quite out of reckoning with everything mentioned so far is Karl Shapiro's "Elegy for a Dead Soldier." Shapiro holds sustained mastery over his intricately rhymed twelve-line stanzas. He has also learned, as few of these others have, how to objectify his emotions, and has chosen to memorialize a man very different from himself. By presenting a character of generous instincts but harsh prejudices, of tough courage and political ignorance, he has given a remarkably thorough likeness of American strength and weakness.

In the other and longer section of the volume, thirty-two poets are included, with the Americans outnumbering the British by more than two to one. The British selections are scarcely representative, but they confirm what is probably an accurate impression, that the present years are an interregnum in English poetry. Auden's poems from his new book show him moving farther away from his original political and social concerns into a realm of religious meditation, somewhat too abstractly apprehended for effective poetry. MacNeice continues to be the most secure craftsman of that group, even though he deploys mostly on a surface level. By comparison, Spender's treatment of larger subjects, such as "Epilogue to a Human Drama," seems very loose and haphazard. George Barker and Dylan Thomas keep the self-conscious manners which they have previously developed. The only voice from an older generation is Edith Sitwell's, in a poem on Venus grown old.

The American poems, on the other hand—and I am confining myself to those which belong to this year—show an abundant variety of talents. This may be owing to the lucky fact that our poets have been able to work unmenaced by bombs, but it is none the less noteworthy in a year in which there have been few distinguished novels and almost no well written plays. Cummings has performed some of his liveliest tricks, and a poem by Marianne Moore is nearly always, like the play of mind she celebrates here, "an enchanting thing." Allen Tate, in "Seasons of the Soul," dedicated to the memory of John Peale Bishop, has made an interesting advance into a less cerebral, more public style; while some of the last poems left by Bishop at his death, particularly his religious "Ode," are a reminder of the skilled craftsman we have lost. The two most impressive reactions to the war are very differing ones. Wallace Stevens, in "Repetitions of a Young Captain," continues his difficult speculations on the role of imagination in a world of violent reality. Robinson Jeffers, still starkly opposed to the very fact of the war, says

Weep for the terrible magnificence of the means
The ridiculous incompetence of the reasons, the bloody and shabby
Pathos of the result.

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Among the other poems are elegies, of markedly unlike sorts, by MacLeish, Blackmur and Muriel Rukeyser, a religious lyric by Delmore Schwartz and a neat allegory by Theodore Spencer. Again, as in the section of soldiers' verse, the most ambitious poem of all is the most impressive. Robert Penn Warren's "Ballad of Billie Potts" is an almost completely successful fusion of the sort that Yeats urged between the poetry of the folk and the poetry of the coteries. The moral reflections with which Warren accompanies his retelling of an old Kentucky story probe the meaning of evil, as it impinges increasingly upon the minds of our time. It augurs well for the further development of American poetry that such poets as Shapiro and Warren, working against very different backgrounds and traditions, should have come now to their full stature in long poems of so much imaginative energy and substance.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

Return of the Hero

The Veteran Comes Back, by Willard Waller. New York: Dryden Press. 308 pages. $2.75.
When Johnny Comes Marching Home, by Dixon Wecter. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company. 558 pages. $3.

EACH OF THESE BOOKS tackles the problem of what to expect and do when the twelve million GI Joes now in service become GI citizens again. With the end of the European war and partial demobilization and reconversion imminent, there is no doubt of the urgent need for such authoritative and helpful studies. The merits of both these books are numerous. As well as being timely, they are the careful products of nicely balanced academic brains, and are well written, well arranged and well documented.

Mr. Waller, himself a veteran of World War I, is today an associate professor at Columbia University. For the past two decades he has been a student of war and its effect upon soldiers and society, and is the author of two books—"War in the Twentieth Century" and "War and the Family"—on this subject. His new book is divided into four parts. "The Civilian Is Made into a Professional Soldier" deals with the way army life can change a man's attitude toward civilian values, religion, morals and even his family. "The Soldier-Turned-Veteran Comes Back to an Alien Homeland" tells of the natural bitterness in the mind of a returned soldier, the attendant difficulties of family relationships, war marriages and the potential political dynamite of the "soldier bloc." A third section analyzes past attempts to help the veteran, the reasons for their failure, and the final section, "Helping the Veterans to Adjust to Peacetime Living," deals with the continuance of education for young veterans, economic aids, jobs and personal relationships.

The book reads like an excellent postgraduate thesis, or an enlightened government report. Written from a historical angle, it starts with the story of Uriah and the home-front wolf, King David, and traces many aspects of the veteran's problem through our four major wars.

The jacket blurb says: "This book is written . . . to help the veteran's father, mother, wife, sister, sweetheart to understand his state of mind." This is a false claim. The book will not be of general help. I do not believe Professor Waller wrote it with that end in view. He himself says that he hopes "it will be a firebell in the night—to wake up America *now* to the veteran problem before it descends upon us in all its fury." And this is its greatest merit—that it may provoke thought and action. It is a book that should not only be read, but also kept as a reference by every man and woman working on the veteran problem—by Selective Service officials concerned with demobilization, by employment officers of industry, and social workers. But I fear the wife of GI Joe would do better to go see "The Voice of the Turtle."

"When Johnny Comes Marching Home" is a good deal livelier. Mr. Wecter wrote it during a fifteen-month tenure as a Guggenheim Fellow, and it has a pleasant, leisurely pace about it. To me the most interesting pages are the lengthy quotations from Civil War letters and diaries. It is a more human book than

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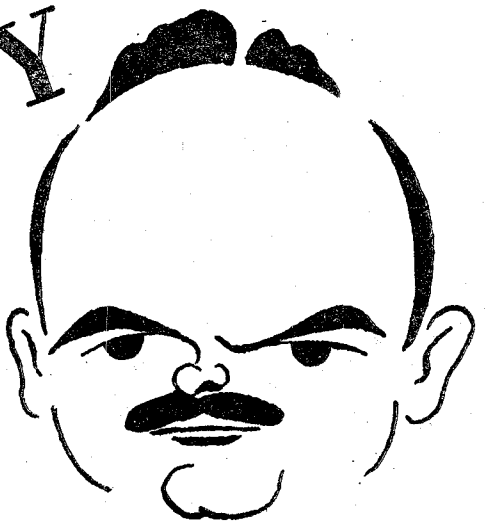

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"The Veteran Comes Back," because it deals with men rather than with a problem. However, it devotes far more space to the veterans of three earlier wars—the Continentals, the boys in the Blue and the Gray, and the Doughboys, than it does to GI Joe.

Writing as a veteran of this war, I cannot feel that either of these books does justice to the men of World War II, or gives any real aid to their wives, sweethearts and parents in showing them what to expect of their returned soldiers, and how to help them. For I do not believe that the so-called "veteran problem" and the "ex-war worker" problem, the labor-industry problem and the racial problem and other such problems, ad infinitum, can be solved by wrapping them up into separate packages, pigeonholing them and thinking up a wise set of solutions. When a veteran comes home and is demobilized, he is again a citizen, a private individual. And the prosperity of America will mean the prosperity and well being of the veteran. (I am referring here, of course, not to the severely injured or incapacitated veterans: these are medical, psychological and specialized problems.) The veteran's readjustment will not be accomplished solely by means of educational grants, loans, unemployment insurance and jobs. These are helpful, but they are only the externals of a combat man's change-over to civilian life.

Certainly the principal burden of soldier-readjustment will lie upon the shoulders of his immediate family, especially upon his wife or girl friend. Witness Marine Al Schmid, Captain Ted Lawton and endless other less famous veterans. American women, unlike the British, French and Russians, have no idea what their men are going through "over there." Their natural instincts of maternal love, over-much sentiment and over-much curiosity will not be in their favor. This business will be the toughest and most important that has ever come their way.

For these women, I hope another, more helpful book will be written. Perhaps it will have to be a novel, the simple story of a handful of men who came home and became civilians again. Certainly it will have to deal more intimately with the soldiers of this war than either of these excellent treatises has done.

WILLIAM J. CALDWELL

Contributors

WILLIAM WITHERS, associate professor of Economics at Queens College and a vice-chairman of the New York State Liberal Party, has written a number of books and articles on taxation and public finance, and has appeared before committees of Congress to support the tax program of the Union for Democratic Action.

JOHN BEECHER, who served for fifteen months as a ship's clerk on the SS Booker T. Washington, is now on the staff of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

GAETANO SALVEMINI, at one time professor of History at the University of Florence, holds the Lauro de Bosis Lectureship in the History of Italian Civilization at Harvard. He is co-author, with George La Piana, of "What to Do with Italy," published last year.

VIRGINIA PREWETT is a news analyst, speaker and writer on Latin American affairs. For two and a half years her column, "Good Neighbors," in The Washington Post, has been calling the turn in Latin American politics. Miss Prewett's most recent book is "The Americas and Tomorrow," published by E. P. Dutton.

AGNES SMEDLEY spent twelve years in China as a correspondent and author. Her most recent book is "The Battle Hymn of China." Miss Smedley is now at Yaddo where she is working on a play and a book, both on China.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN is professor of American Literature and History at Harvard University. Two new books, "Selections of Melville's Poetry" and "Stories of Artists and Writers by Henry James," are to be published shortly by New Directions.

WILLIAM J. CALDWELL, former AAF flier and holder of the DFC, the Air Medal and the Purple Heart, is a writer and speaker on the problems of the veteran. He is on the Planning Board of the American Veterans' Committee.

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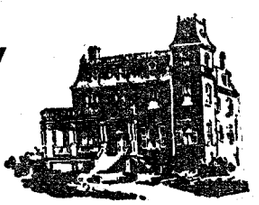

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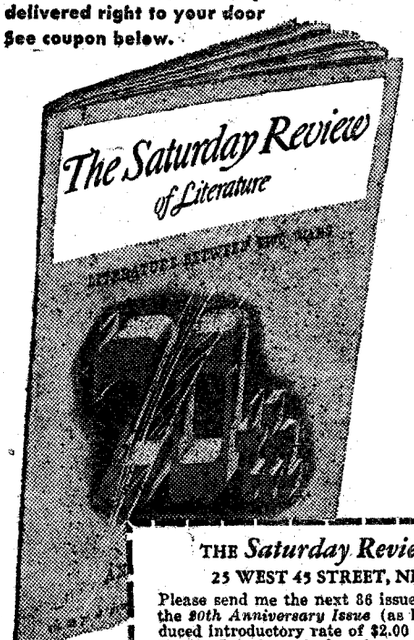

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SATURDAY MORNING, AUGUST 19, 1944.

A REVIEW WITH "STINGO"

The Saturday Review of Literature's Twentieth Anniversary issue should be treasured and bound. For it is far more than a mere documentation of the fact, as recorded by its editor, Norman Cousins, that the American reading public could be brought to sustain such a sterling review. No mere highbrow vehicle for the Parnassian devotees of literature in the abstract, *The Saturday Review* is alive, astringent, controversial. As Leonard Bacon in his tribute says, "Like poverty the *SRL* makes bedfellows as strange as hell."

This is not to say that its catholicity is indiscriminate. With discerning taste and true, if sometimes overzealous psychologizing fervor, *The Review* has invariably endeavored to be fair, presenting both sides of a question and promoting intellectual inquiry. The recent "Battle of Van Wyck Brooks," fought in its columns, with no holds barred, by former-editor Bernard DeVoto and Sinclair Lewis, is typical of the healthful *SRL* sort of melee that helps to clear the air and makes people think.

From the start unashamedly concerned with values and courageously battling for ideas, the *SRL* has not only offered literary criticism; it has actually encouraged the best American creative writing. The Anniversary issue gives authentic testimony to the fact that in these twenty years, while America was coming of age, American writers have contributed many lasting achievements of which we should all be proud. In a world gone mad, this nation has produced much of a cultural and civilizing influence that will endure. The American conscience is awake and aware. *The Saturday Review* proves it.

High lights in this issue are the finely tempered introduction by Henry Seidel Canby, *The Review's* original editor; a stimulating article on "The Maturity of American Literature" by pugnacious DeVoto; "The American Novel of the Truce" (between wars) by a less-bumptious Clifton Fadiman; some pithy utterances in "Contemporary Civilization and Literature" written (or translated from the German?) in an abominable literary gobbledygook by the Viennese-born philosopher, Paul Schrecker; "The Literature of Ideas" by Columbia's Professor Jacques Barzun; "Twenty Years of the American Drama" by Joseph Wood Krutch; and "The Language of Hollywood" by James T. Farrell, a profoundly illuminating treatise that is more than worth the price of admission.

Indeed, just here, in the Farrell opus, is the prime example and only needed justification for the mission the *SRL* has consistently performed. By telling us what is the matter with Hollywood, the American entertainment industry and publishing in general, Farrell is telling us what is wrong with both our literature and our civilization. He may well be extolled for his fearless diagnosis of our ills; the others have done an equally invaluable job of describing our achievements and promise.

One solemn note is sounded by Norman Cousins: the danger to American literature, to the *SRL* and all our periodicals, of such tyrannical censorship as that exercised by the United States Post Office in banning *Esquire* for performing no useful "public service"! Mr. Cousins would replace the motto on the Post Office facade with Milton's warning: ***Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image. But he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. . . .***

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